Achieving Cultural Diversity in Wilderness Recreation: A Study of the Chinese in Vancouver

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A THESIS

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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ABSTRACT

As Canada welcomes immigrants from around the world, planners increasingly strive for policies and initiatives that meet culturally diverse needs. In Greater Vancouver, British Columbia, park planners have directed more attention to wilderness use by ethnic minority groups, particularly the Chinese population. Nowhere in Canada are people of Chinese ancestry more prominent than in Greater Vancouver, where they comprise 47% of the visible minority population and 17% of the total population. However, the rate of Chinese participation in wilderness recreation is less than that of the general population. This exploratory study examines the cultural nuances and institutional barriers that impede Chinese participation in wilderness recreation activities. It is primarily based on 51 in-depth interviews with members of the Chinese community in Greater Vancouver during 2002. Recruitment was by a hybrid convenience-purposive-snowball sampling method, which resulted in a non-random sample. Interview questions addressed views about wilderness, outdoor recreation and wilderness experience, awareness of local recreation opportunities, means to retrieve park information, and preferences for park settings and facilities. The Vancouver Index of Acculturation was used to measure participants' levels of acculturation. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed, and information from field notes and transcripts were organized into main themes and triangulated with secondary data sources for analysis.

Results indicate that Chinese who are more acculturated to Canadian culture ("High Mainstream Chinese") visit a greater number of parks and are willing to travel a further distance to access them. They also tend to visit parks more often, stay longer, and tend to be attracted to more physically demanding or "hard adventure" activities, whereas less acculturated individuals ("Low Mainstream Chinese") are inclined to more passive outdoor activities. The study points to reasons that explain why Low Mainstream Chinese – particularly recent immigrants – are participating less in wilderness recreation. Factors include fear of the wilderness environment, preference for more highly developed parks, a lack of awareness of wilderness opportunities, and inadequate access to park information. Subtle aspects of the Chinese subcultural identity, such as importance of cleanliness, emphasis on academics, priorities on work, and clannishness, also play a role in Chinese under-participation.

Thus if park planners want to facilitate Chinese use of designated wilderness areas, they should address issues such as safety, level of park development, availability of information, and

awareness of wilderness opportunities in a culturally sensitive way. Doing so would promote more equitable access to a public resource. Increased awareness and appreciation of wilderness by ethnic minority groups may also help garner political support for future conservation initiatives and build a stronger local economy.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXT

Planning for diversity is vitally important as Canada continues to welcome immigrants from all around the world. Since 1966, the country's immigrant population has almost doubled, increasing from 2.8 million (15.6% of the total population) to 5.4 million in 2001 (18.4%) (Basavarajappa & Ram, 1999; Statistics Canada 2001a). Between 1996 and 2001 alone, over 477,000 new immigrants arrived in Canada, bringing with them a variety of recreation needs and preferences. Since recreation is presumed to be a basic right of all citizens (Pawlik & Karlis, 1998), policy makers have consciously facilitated ethnic minority access to public recreation programs, events, and facilities, especially in major urban centers, where immigrants tend to settle. School Boards offer adult recreation and hobby courses in a variety of languages. The Vancouver School Board, for instance, has classes in Cantonese, Mandarin, Japanese, and Spanish for immigrants who prefer instruction in their heritage language. Governments allocate public funds to support ethnic non-profit organizations that offer, among other services, recreation programs (e.g. Canadian African Women's Organization in Ottawa). They also allocate funds to support ethnic festivals (e.g. Montreal Asian Heritage Festival, Toronto's Caribana^{TM}). Planning departments approve permits and grant other permissions related to building ethno-specific recreation centers (e.g. Jewish Community Center in Vancouver). In spite of these efforts, ethnic minority populations are still under-represented in many recreation activities. Outdoor recreation, particularly wilderness recreation, is one example (BC Parks Research Services, 1991; Floyd, 1999; Gramann, 1996).

It is uncertain whether ethnic minority groups are being excluded from participating in wilderness activities or whether they are simply choosing to participate in other forms of recreation. If wilderness park managers are indeed excluding ethnic minorities – albeit without intent and unknowingly – then the situation should be corrected. Parks are a public trust. Park managers have the responsibility of meeting the public's needs. They should not only determine whether current recreation opportunities and park services meet visitor expectations, but also mitigate the barriers that prevent participation among non-users. If ethnic minority groups simply do not aspire to participate in wilderness recreation and choose other types of leisure activities, park managers are still faced with a challenge. How will park managers and wilderness lobby groups receive enough political support for future conservation initiatives if ethnic minority groups are apathetic towards wilderness values? It is essential that we

determine why ethnic minorities are participating less than the general population in wilderness recreation and encourage use of wilderness parks by culturally diverse groups.

Over the last forty years, researchers have developed a number of theories on ethnic under-participation in outdoor recreation (e.g. ethnicity theory, Washburne, 1978; marginality theory, Scott & Munson, 1994). While there is general agreement that ethnic minority groups visit wilderness parks less and participate less in certain outdoor recreation activities than the general population, there is little consensus regarding the *causes* of this phenomenon (McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). Few researchers have sought to develop a more comprehensive, explanatory theory of variations in recreation participation among different ethnic groups, especially for wilderness recreation activities. Moreover, most research has focused on African-Americans (e.g. Phillip, 1995; West, 1989) and Hispanic-Americans (e.g. Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993). The present research aims to strengthen earlier claims of ethnic under-participation in outdoor recreation by examining the Chinese culture group. The researcher is hoping to make a theoretical and social contribution by developing a more comprehensive explanation of wilderness under-use appropriate for ethnic minority groups in Canada, with specific reference to Chinese populations.

Nowhere in Canada is the Chinese population more prominent than in the Greater Vancouver area of British Columbia. The 2001 Canadian Census shows that almost two million people reside in Greater Vancouver. Of these, over 342,000 are of Chinese origin. This constitutes 47% of the visible minority population in the area and 17% of the total population[1] (Statistics Canada, 2001b).

While the size of the Chinese population in the Lower Mainland is significant, this is not reflected in park visitorship. BC Parks Research Services (1991) reports that 37 percent of Asians and East Indians have never used a provincial park. This is almost three times the percentage of non-park visitors in the general population. Provincial and regional park authorities have also found that in general, the Asian population has lower rates of participation in outdoor recreation activities than the Euro-Canadian population (Ibid, 1991; Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific, 1994). The *causes* of these recreation behaviour patterns have yet to be determined. Greater

[1] As compared to Toronto Census Metropolitan Area's Chinese population which constitutes 23% of visible minorities and just under 9% of the total population. Figures for Calgary are 31% and 5.5% respectively.

Vancouver thus provides a suitable context for examining the reasons that might be inhibiting park visitation and wilderness recreation participation by the Chinese community.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES

The research question formulated for this research is as follows:

> *Why is the Chinese population in Greater Vancouver less inclined to visit wilderness-oriented parks and participate in wilderness-oriented outdoor recreation activities as compared to the general population?*

The specific objectives of this research are:

1. To determine the relative strengths of competing theories of ethnic variations in outdoor recreation participation.
2. To investigate the extent, pattern, and nature of visitation to wilderness-oriented parks by the Chinese in Greater Vancouver.
3. To understand the relationship between the level of acculturation to Canadian culture and wilderness-oriented recreation behaviour.
4. To illustrate and explain any subcultural influences that may be acting as "barriers" to Chinese visitation to wilderness-oriented parks and participation in wilderness-oriented recreation activities.
5. To recommend to park policy-makers how to address equity issues, marketing, and wilderness education.

1.3 SUMMARY OF METHODS

Three conditions prompted the use of a qualitative methodology in this research. Firstly, there is little known information about the topic and previous research is scarce. Secondly, the study examines a heterogeneous community where individuals would have varying perspectives. Finally, there was the possibility of unexpected circumstances that may require slight changes in the research design at any time. In such situations, a qualitative methodology is appropriate (Babbie, 2001; Creswell, 1994; Neuman, 2000; Taylor & Bogden, 1984).

Fifty-three qualitative interviews were conducted with Vancouver ethnic Chinese during the summer of 2002 to examine their attitudes towards visiting wilderness-oriented parks and their recreation preferences. Participants included members of Vancouver's Chinese community and two key informants from a local Chinese social service agency and an Asian environmental club. Results were sorted into coding categories and quantified, thus allowing themes and

patterns to be identified and analysed. Secondary data sources were reviewed to complement and enhance the information from the interviews.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research will contribute to the planning profession by expanding the knowledge of park planning in Canada, particularly in the area of cultural diversity in wilderness recreation. Diversity issues within park and recreation management have received growing interest in recent years. Researchers and practitioners (e.g. Goldsmith, 1994; Hollister & Hodgson, 1996; Kraus, 1987) have addressed the need to make special efforts to attract and serve ethnic minority groups and have put forth recommendations to increase their representation in recreation and park programs. However, few *empirical* studies on this topic have been conducted in Canada, giving professional planners little on which to base their recommendations. The author will make recommendations for park policy makers, including strategies dealing with equity of access to park resources, marketing, and wilderness education. Research findings may also be of interest to park agencies in other Canadian cities with significant Chinese populations, such as Calgary and Toronto.

This thesis will contribute to the park planning literature by surveying books and articles from a variety of disciplines for subcultural explanations for under-participation in wilderness recreation activities and summarizing consistently emerging themes. This will help park planners and researchers not only understand the complexities of under-participation by ethnic minority groups, but also establish the necessary resources to facilitate ethnic use of designated wilderness areas. Furthermore, it is hoped that the research methodology can be applied to Chinese populations in other cities, to different ethnic groups, or to other types of leisure and recreation activities.

The research addresses a notable gap in the professional planning literature. Practising planners have made only sparse contributions to the professional literature on the topics of multicultural planning and park planning. A keyword search through Plan Canada's consolidated index yielded only nine 'hits' on "multicultural" or "diversity" since inception of the journal in 1959. Seven of these articles resulted from a one-day diversity conference held at York University, Ontario and were published in a special issue in 2000. There was only one hit for "immigrant". There were only five relevant articles on "parks" and no hits on "protected areas" or "wilderness". In contrast, there were 129 hits on "urban design", 100 for "land use", 96

for “housing”, and 64 for “transportation”. The Journal of the American Planning Association (JAPA) did not fare much better. In the cumulative index of volumes dated 1958-1983, there were a number of articles related to “discrimination”, “minority groups” and “racial segregation”, but no references to multiculturalism or diversity in planning[2]. The six articles related to parks and recreation were classified under the obscure subject heading “open space”. In the JAPA web index of volumes dated 1988 to present, there were only three references on “multicultural”, one article on “parks”, and one article on “wilderness”.

Finally, this research may lead to environmental benefits and contribute to the local community. If it assists park managers in reducing barriers to participation in wilderness-oriented parks and stimulating Chinese interest in environmental and backcountry issues, there may be increased political support for future conservation initiatives. There may also be an increase in both local and out-of-area tourism, thus stimulating the economy. Furthermore, increased use of these parks may lead to greater demand for outdoor recreation related products to the benefit of local retailers.

1.5 KEY DEFINITIONS

Two complex terms used throughout this thesis warrant brief definitions: *Chinese* and *wilderness*. No definition of *Chinese* is clear and concise. The decision as to whether an individual or a group is Chinese or not will undoubtedly vary according to whom one speaks, including the individuals themselves or the societies in which Chinese people reside (Poston, 2002). Pan (in Poston, 2002) offers an intriguing model of the Chinese people, whom she represents in a series of four concentric circles. The permanent population in the People’s Republic of China occupies the innermost circle. Chinese in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and Chinese nationals residing or studying abroad occupy the second circle. The third circle contains the “hyphenated Chinese” (e.g. Chinese-Canadians, Sino-Thais). These individuals are of Chinese descent, but have no ancestral loyalties because of their non-Chinese citizenship and political allegiances. The outermost circle consists of people with Chinese ancestry but who no longer identify as Chinese. As a result of intermarriage or other means of assimilation, they have “melted into another people”. In the context of this study, the term Chinese refers mostly to the third and fourth groups (individuals with Chinese ancestry and

[2] This is representative of the difference between Canadian and US immigration policies. Whereas Canada passed the Multicultural Act in 1971 to allow “all members of Canadian society to preserve,

Canadian citizenship) and to a lesser extent, the second group (individuals with Chinese ancestry and dual Chinese/Canadian citizenship, as with many recent immigrants).

The term *wilderness* is also highly subjective and difficult to define. In his survey of the use of the word wilderness from its earliest translation from the Latin Bible (e.g. the King James Bible, 1611[3]) to its appearance in more recent works, Nash (in McDonald, 2001) finds that in most cases, wilderness is defined as uncultivated lands populated with wild animals but void of human inhabitants. However, the *precise* conditions that must be present to constitute wilderness are unclear. According to Lutz, Simpson-Housley & De Man (1999), individuals from different backgrounds will vary in their interpretations. As Nash (2001) notes, "one man's wilderness may be another's roadside picnic ground" (p.1). This research treats wilderness as an idea or state of mind, rather than a material object or physical condition. Interview participants were only provided with a broad definition of "wilderness-oriented parks": parks that are further away from the city, in a more natural setting, and have fewer man-made features. The ways participants visualized these spaces are likely as varied as the participants themselves – that is, "wilderness-oriented parks" is respondent-defined.

1.6 THESIS ORGANIZATION

Chapter 2 outlines theories on cultural differences in outdoor recreation participation that have emerged over the past four decades. It also identifies the limitations and shortcomings of the existing frameworks and research. Drawing upon literature in recreation and leisure studies, environmental philosophy, Asian studies, religious studies, psychology, geography, and park planning, Chapter 3 proposes reasons why Chinese populations might be less inclined to participate in wilderness-oriented recreation activities. Chapter 4 articulates the research methods used in this study and discusses how face-to-face interviews were used as the primary means to realize the objectives of this qualitative study. The main results in the form of themes, issues, and patterns of behaviour arising from the interviews are identified in Chapter 5, followed by a critical discussion in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 offers some conclusions on wilderness recreation participation by the Greater Vancouver Chinese community, and on cultural diversity

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enhance and shape their cultural heritage" (Qadeer, 2000, p. 16), the US has maintained a "melting pot" policy, encouraging immigrants to assimilate to the American mainstream.

[3] Though the King James Bible was not the first attempt translate the Bible into easily understood English, it was the first to receive Church and State support, and has been by far the most successful.

in planning in general. It also proposes future research initiatives and recommendations for park planners and community organizations.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN OUTDOOR RECREATION PARTICIPATION

Over the past four decades, a number of theories on cultural differences in outdoor recreation participation have emerged. While these frameworks are neither specific to the Chinese population nor to *wilderness*-oriented recreation participation, they provide a theoretical basis for the research questions at hand. Each theory is described below, and a summary of all theories can be found in Table 2.1.

2.1 ETHNICITY THEORY

Ethnicity theory describes cultural variations in outdoor recreation behaviour as a function of norms, value systems, and social organization. It is based on the notion that various subcultures reject assimilation with the dominant culture. They highly value their ethnic identity and in their efforts to maintain it, perpetuate it in their recreation patterns (Floyd, 1999; McDonald & Hutchison 1987). This interpretation is supported by Washburne's (1978) widely cited study on African-American and Euro-American differences in wildland recreation participation. His analysis of secondary data from eight Californian cities found that African-American participation rates in wildland outdoor activities, such as visiting regional or remote recreation areas, camping, and hiking, were significantly lower than those of Euro-Americans (the mainstream American population). After matching the two groups on various socioeconomic and demographic variables (i.e. gender, age, education and income), these differences still persisted. Washburne suggested that these differences were due to subcultural rather than socioeconomic factors. Similar findings have also been reached by Washburne & Wall (1980), Klobus-Edwards (1981), and Dwyer (1994), who also included Hispanic-Americans and Asian-Americans in his study. In addition, Stamps & Stamps' (1985) study of urban residents found race, rather than class, to be a greater determinant in leisure participation.

2.2 MARGINALITY THEORY

Marginality theory attributes minority differences in outdoor recreation participation to limited access to socioeconomic resources stemming from historical discrimination and marginal position of minorities within a society. Socioeconomic barriers such as lack of discretionary funds, transportation, and information about facilities prevent access and utilization of outdoor recreation resources (Floyd 1999; Johnson, Bowker, English & Worthen, 1998; McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). Several researchers have found support for this theory. Kraus (in Murphy,

1974) found that African-Americans made extensive use of relatively inexpensive recreational activities such as picnicking, fishing, and biking, but only limited use of more “upper class” activities such as boating and skiing, which were dominated by mainstream Americans. Scott & Munson (1994) found that even after controlling for gender, age, race, and level of education, income was the best predictor of perceived constraints to park visitation.

TABLE 2.1: SUMMARY OF THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN OUTDOOR RECREATION PARTICIPATION

Theory	Main Premise	Supporting Studies
Ethnicity theory	Subcultural norms, value systems, and social organization affect recreation patterns.	Dwyer (1994), Klobus-Edwards (1981), Stamps & Stamps (1985), Washburne (1978), Washburne & Wall (1980).
Marginality theory	Lack of socioeconomic resources due to historical discrimination limits park use.	Kraus (in Murphy, 1974), Scott & Munson (1994), West (1989).
Socioeconomic demographic theory	Variations in park use are due to social class differences, such as income, education, and occupational status.	Bultena & Field (1978), Floyd et al. (1993), Phillip (1995), White (1975), Yancey & Snell (in McDonald & Hutchison, 1987).
Opportunity theory	Visitation patterns reflect differences in opportunities, such as cost and distance to site.	Craig (1972), Lee et al. (2001).
Discrimination theory	Contemporary (rather than historical) sources of discrimination are responsible for differences in recreation patterns.	Floyd et al. (1993), Johnson et al. (1998), West (1989).
Assimilation theory	Increased levels of assimilation among ethnic minorities will likely result in their recreation patterns emulating those of the mainstream population.	Carr & Williams (1993), Floyd & Gramann (1993), Floyd & Shinew (1999), Klobus-Edwards (1981), Shaull & Gramann (1998).
Identity, compensatory, and complementary theories	Three theories that stem from early research on social participation (e.g. voluntary organizations, church attendance, and political activity). Neglected by researchers since the 1970s when attention shifted from social participation to leisure and recreation participation (with emphasis on tests of the ethnicity and marginality hypotheses) (Karlis & Dawson, 1995).	
Ethnicity and Public Recreation Participation Model©	A new model that integrates aspects of the marginality, ethnicity, and discrimination theories, and also takes into account assimilation and motivation for participation.	Empirical studies have yet to be conducted (Gómez, 2002).

Accessibility and transportation to parks were problematic for individuals with lower income earnings: parks were located too far away, access to a private vehicle was limited or unavailable, and public transportation to the parks was unavailable. These results were similar to earlier findings by West (1989) who also found that differential access to automobile transportation played a more significant role in African-American under-participation in Detroit's regional parks than subcultural factors.

2.3 SOCIOECONOMIC-DEMOGRAPHIC THEORY

An offshoot of marginality theory is *socioeconomic demographic theory*, which suggests that variations in participation are due to social class differences (Karlis & Dawson, 1995). Individuals with similar socioeconomic status, based on variables such as income, education, and occupational status, are more likely to participate in similar outdoor recreation activities (McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). This perspective is supported by a number of early studies including Bultena & Field (1978), Kelly (1980), White (1975), and Yancey & Snell (1971, in McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). More recently, Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz (1993) found that as an ethnic minority group approaches the socioeconomic status of the mainstream group, they are more likely to use the outdoor recreation areas frequented by the majority group. Philipp (1995) found an overall similarity between middle-class African-Americans and Euro-Americans in their leisure preferences, though he cautioned that the appeal and comfort rating of specific activities may also have an important effect on participation.

Over the last decade, researchers have given increasing consideration to how gender interacts with race and social class in determining leisure activity preferences. Floyd, Shinew, McGuire & Noe's (1994) analysis of national survey data on the leisure preferences of American adults found a high degree of correlation between the preferences of Euro-American and African-American males who perceived themselves as middle class. However, they found little association between the leisure preferences of Euro-American and African-American females who described themselves as poor or working class. Shinew, Floyd, McGuire & Noe (1995) obtained similar results. Breaking from the practice of making comparisons between racial groups, Shinew, Floyd, McGuire & Noe (1996) addressed differences within the African-American population. They found similar leisure preferences between men and women with a higher socioeconomic standing, but not between those with a lower standing. The researchers also found a positive correlation between the leisure preferences of men of different social classes. This pattern failed to emerge between women of different classes.

Several recent studies (e.g. Shinew et al., 1995; Lee, Scott & Floyd, 2001) have also employed the *multiple hierarchy perspective*, which suggests that multiple social statuses (e.g. socio-economic status, age, ethnicity, and gender) combine to affect leisure lifestyles. In essence, this perspective suggests that elderly, minority women with lower socioeconomic status have four disadvantageous statuses, and therefore occupy the lowest stratum in the hierarchy of outdoor recreation participation. Conversely, middle-aged, Anglo men with higher socioeconomic status occupy the highest ranking on the hierarchy. Remaining groups lie somewhere in between, since they possess both advantageous and disadvantageous traits (Lee et al., 2001).

2.4 OPPORTUNITY THEORY

A second offshoot of marginality theory is *opportunity theory*, which attributes ethnic variations in recreation participation to differences in opportunities, such as the cost and physical availability of outdoor recreation resources (McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). Craig's (1972) study of African-Americans in Louisiana found that the distance between home and an activity site was a factor in influencing recreation behaviour. Generally, transportation costs increase as distance increases, which might be a barrier to groups that have historically faced lower incomes. While level of income does play an important role in this theory, Lee et al. (2001) note that opportunity theory "tends to focus on locational distribution of recreation resources rather than on income itself as a factor affecting outdoor recreation participation" (p. 429).

2.5 DISCRIMINATION THEORY

In contrast to marginality theory, *discrimination theory* suggests that *contemporary*, rather than historical sources of discrimination are responsible for differences in ethnic patterns of recreation participation. This contemporary discrimination stems from interaction with other visitor groups and management personnel (Floyd, 1999). West (1989) conducted a study of park users in Detroit and found that a roughly equal proportion of African-American and Euro-American respondents experienced negative reactions when visiting surrounding regional parks. However, African-Americans reported more instances of anti-racial sentiments and serious disturbances such as gang conflict, whereas Euro-Americans listed less serious disturbances (e.g. loud noise from other groups or littering) with greater frequency. The majority of those who experienced negative reactions subsequently reduced their use of these parks. Floyd et al.'s (1993) study of Mexican-ancestry Hispanics in Arizona found that as perceived discrimination increased, use of outdoor recreation areas frequented by Euro-Americans decreased. This

pattern, however, was not statistically significant. Johnson et al. (1998) provide anecdotal evidence of perceived discrimination in the Apalachicola National Forest in Florida. A small number of African-American residents in the area commented that the forest was racially demarcated; African-Americans use certain areas and the mainstream population uses others. Furthermore, they mentioned that they would not feel comfortable camping in the forest for fear of being hassled by white drunks or "rednecks".

While these findings point towards discrimination as a factor affecting recreation participation, significant theoretical or empirical work on this hypothesis has yet to be conducted (Floyd, 1999). Furthermore, the types and range of discriminatory behaviour in recreation settings, the causes of this discrimination, and behavioural responses to discrimination have yet to be well understood. Additional studies are required for a clearer understanding of the relationship between discrimination and recreation patterns.

2.6 ASSIMILATION THEORY

In recent years, researchers have turned to *assimilation theory* to explain ethnic variations in recreation. Yinger (1981) defined assimilation as "the process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies or of smaller cultural groups meet" (p. 249). According to Gordon's (1964) multi-stage model, which remains dominant in the field today, this process can be broken down into seven distinct phases. Two of these subprocesses have been used in studies of outdoor recreation participation: cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation, or acculturation, refers to minority groups adopting the cultural behaviours (e.g. language and diet) of the dominant group. Structural assimilation refers to the degree or nature of intergroup relations. This social interaction can take place with primary (e.g. family or close friends) or secondary social groups (e.g. people at school, the workplace, or in the neighbourhood). Drawing upon these ideas, assimilation theory postulates that increased levels of cultural and structural assimilation among ethnic minority groups will likely result in their recreation patterns emulating those of the mainstream population (Floyd, 1999). This interpretation is supported by a number of researchers.

Carr & Williams' (1993) study of forest recreation sites in Southern California found that sites with the highest number of Hispanic users had "the highest proportion of immigrant individuals, the lowest proportion of second generation individuals, and the lowest acculturation levels" (p.32). Conversely, at the recreation site where Euro-Americans were the majority user,

individuals of Hispanic descent had higher generational status and higher acculturation levels relative to Hispanics at the other sites. In their study of Mexican-Americans in Arizona, Floyd & Gramann (1993) found that in most cases, the most acculturated and most structurally assimilated Mexican-Americans were most similar to Euro-Americans in outdoor recreation behavior. Similarly, Shaull & Gramann (1998) found that highly acculturated Hispanic respondents were more similar to Euro-Americans in their beliefs about the importance of nature-related benefits of outdoor recreation.

The assimilation hypothesis has also been tested on African-American and Euro-American populations. Floyd & Shinew (1999) found that groups with high interracial contact had very similar leisure preferences. These results are consistent with earlier findings by Klobus-Edwards (1981).

2.7 IDENTITY, COMPENSATORY, AND COMPLEMENTARY THEORIES

Karlis & Dawson's (1995) review article on theoretical approaches to ethnicity and recreation identified three lesser-known theories. *Identity theory*, or the ethnic-community / racial-identity hypothesis, assumes that ethnic minorities partake in activities within their own community to collectively reconstruct and preserve their ethnic identity. The *compensatory theory* proposes that participation in ethno-specific recreation activities does not sufficiently provide the full range of satisfactions that can be derived from participating in mainstream recreation activities. This theory developed from the notion of compensatory recreation for "culturally deprived" groups in the community, in which participation in mainstream activities is seen as a means to enhance the quality of life of the disadvantaged, including ethnic minority groups (Gray, 1973, p. 196). *Complementary theory* presumes that ethnic minorities find mainstream culture lacking in certain socio-cultural activities. To fill in these perceived inadequacies, ethnic minorities devise their own leisure and recreation activities to complement those offered by the dominant, host culture. This allows them to maintain their ethnocultural heritage while still being active in mainstream society.

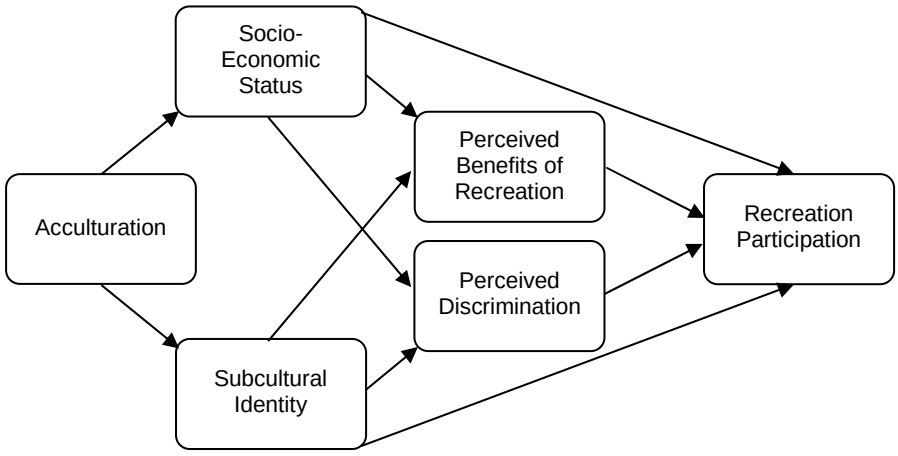
These theories stem from early studies of differences between African-Americans and Euro-Americans in social participation (e.g. in voluntary organizations, church attendance, and political activity). In the mid-1970s, however, research shifted from social participation to leisure and recreation participation (focusing largely on tests of the ethnicity and marginality hypotheses), which resulted in the overall neglect of these three theories (Hutchison, 1988).

One exception is Horna (1980), who studied the changes in leisure patterns of two Central-European ethnic groups before and after they immigrated to Western Canada. Horna interpreted the results as supporting the complementary, rather than compensatory theory.

2.8 THE ETHNICITY AND PUBLIC RECREATION PARTICIPATION MODEL©

In response to several calls to develop a broader framework that reflects the *interrelationship* between the different factors that influence recreation behaviour, Gómez (2002) developed the *Ethnicity and Public Recreation Participation Model* (EPRP Model)©. This model incorporates aspects of the marginality, ethnicity, and discrimination theories, and also takes into account assimilation and motivation for participation. Figure 2.1 shows that acculturation is the driving force in the EPRP Model. It in turn affects socioeconomic status, subcultural identity, perceived benefits of recreation, perceived discrimination, and ultimately, recreation participation. The EPRP has yet to be tested empirically. However, an integrative approach that allows the investigation of a wider range of variables may advance scholarship on race, ethnicity, and recreation behaviour (Floyd, 1998).

FIGURE 2.1: THE ETHNICITY AND PUBLIC RECREATION PARTICIPATION MODEL©



Source: Gómez, 2002, p. 132

2.9 LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING RESEARCH

This section does not seek to provide a comprehensive critique of earlier research, but rather focuses on three specific shortcomings: the use of quantitative methods, neglect of Asian populations, and assumption of homogeneous culture groups. For a more extensive critique of previous research, readers can refer to Floyd (1998) and Hutchison (1988), who thoroughly

describe the limitations of the dominant ethnicity and marginality paradigms and earlier methodological approaches.

2.9.1 Use of quantitative methods

Floyd (1999) and Hutchison (1988) note that most research on ethnic differences in recreation participation have employed quantitative methods, particularly population survey research. The quantitative approach is regarded as reliable, objective, value free, and capable of generating large amounts of data that can be verified using statistical means (Berg, 1998; Neuman, 2000). However, quantitative methods lack the depth, insight, and richness that can be achieved by qualitative studies. Moreover, survey research is problematic if respondents do not comprehend English (Palys 1997); might be subject to cross-cultural misunderstandings if questions are translated into a different language (Patton 1990); and is prone to volunteer bias (Palys 1997).

2.9.2 Insufficient research on Asian populations

Earlier research (e.g. Klobus-Edwards, 1981; Washburne, 1978) focused on African and European groups. More recently, American researchers (e.g. Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Shaull & Gramann, 1998) have given greater consideration to Hispanic populations, the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). Contemporary studies have still largely neglected Asian groups, despite rising Asian populations in North America and repeated calls for leisure, recreation, and park research on this ethnic group (e.g. Floyd, 1999; Gramann, 1996; Hutchison, 1988; McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). U.S. demographic trends indicate that the Asian and Pacific Island populations, which are largely concentrated along the Pacific Coast states, will increase by over 25 million people in the next fifty years (Cordell, Betz & Green, 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a, 2000c). Canada's Chinese community is projected to triple by 2016 (Kelly, n.d.).

Floyd (1999) notes that research on outdoor recreation participation by racial and ethnic groups has often placed Asian-Americans into the "other" ethnic group category. This is due in part to the random sampling methods used in mail, telephone, and on-site surveys, which seldom generate enough minority respondents to produce reliable data (Gobster, 2002). Researchers have only recently turned to purposive and stratified quota sampling procedures to ensure

adequate representation by Asian populations (e.g. Gobster, 2002; Tinsley, Tinsley & Croskeys 2002).

Earlier studies that recognized Asians as a stand-alone ethnic group were quite general in nature. For example, Dwyer (1994) reported differences in recreation participation among Asian-Americans, but did not provide any explanation for this behavioural phenomenon. Likewise, two surveys of residents in the Greater Vancouver area uncovered variations in recreation participation among European and Asian groups but did not provide any insight into these differences (BC Parks Research Services, 1991; Rethink Group and Praxis Pacific, 1994). Lately, researchers have begun more in-depth outdoor recreation studies on specific Asian sub-groups. Jeong and Godbey (2000) examined outdoor recreation participation patterns among Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. Lee, Ivy & Moore (2000) examined differences in Korean and American urban trail users' perceptions of trail attributes. Walker, Deng & Dieser (2001) examined Chinese and Euro-North Americans' motivations for outdoor recreation, taking into consideration ethnicity, acculturation and the notion of self-construal, or the way individuals perceive themselves. No studies have yet been conducted on *wilderness*-oriented outdoor recreation, particularly not for Chinese populations.

2.9.3 Assumption of homogeneous cultural groups

A number of researchers (e.g. Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd, 1998; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Hutchison, 1988; Sasidharan, 2002) have noted most ethnicity and marginality studies have assumed homogeneous population groups. For example, Spanish-origin groups in the United States have usually been classified as "Hispanic", even though their national origins "span three continents and the Caribbean" (Floyd & Gramann 1993, p. 7). Consequently, important cultural and socio-economic variations that exist *within* ethnic groups are overlooked. While there have been some recent efforts to examine intragroup differences (e.g. Floyd et al., 1994; Shinew et al., 1995; Shinew et al., 1996), research in this area is still sparse.

2.10 SUMMARY

While there is general agreement among researchers and theorists that there is under-participation and under-use of outdoor recreation and natural areas by minority groups, there is little consensus regarding the *causes* of this phenomenon (McDonald & Hutchison, 1987). Little work has been done to develop a more comprehensive, explanatory theory of variations in recreation participation among different ethnic groups, particularly in the area of wilderness

recreation. Furthermore, the mostly American research has focused largely on African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans. This study seeks to strengthen previous claims of ethnic under-use of wilderness areas by examining the Chinese population. Using qualitative methods, this research strives to make a theoretical and social contribution by developing a deeper, more thorough understanding of wilderness under-use among ethnic minority groups in Canada, with specific reference to the Chinese community.

CHAPTER 3: CHINESE UNDER-PARTCIPATION IN WILDERNESS-ORIENTED RECREATION ACTIVITIES

Chapter 2 examined general theories that explain ethnic minority under-use of parks. This chapter seeks to understand why the Chinese population participates less in wilderness-oriented recreation activities. The chapter begins with an overview of Bryan's (1977) theory of recreation specialization, then discusses three main themes from government sources and literature including recreation and leisure studies, environmental philosophy, Asian studies, religious studies, psychology, geography, and park planning.

3.1 THEORY OF RECREATION SPECIALIZATION

Bryan's theory of recreation specialization can be used as a starting point to understand Chinese under-participation in wilderness-oriented activities. As described by McFarlane, Boxall & Watson (1998):

> *Bryan hypothesized that the amount of experience with and commitment to an activity follows a sequence with some individuals progressing through sequential stages of development. As individuals progress along this continuum, they become specialized in their behaviours and their attitudes and preferences change. Thus, more experienced users prefer more natural types of conditions and less management intervention* (n. pag).

Several studies confirm differences in the physical, management, and social setting preferences according to experience levels. For example, Williams & Huff (in McFarlane et al., 1998) found that experienced hikers prefer long trails in the high country whereas less-experienced hikers prefer low-risk trails with easily accessible trail heads and presence of other users. Virden and Schreyer (1988) found that specialized hikers increasingly value rugged terrain and the presence of bears; prefer fewer intensive management actions such as providing well-maintained trails and directional signs; and are less tolerant of seeing other hikers, motorized recreationists, and large, loud groups.

The literature revealed three reasons why Chinese individuals may not progress along this continuum and become specialized in outdoor activities: different views of nature and wilderness, limited experience with wilderness areas and activities, and different attitudes towards recreation in general. Consequently, they remain less experienced users who prefer more developed and managed park experiences.

3.2 NORTH AMERICAN VS. TRADITIONAL CHINESE VIEWS OF NATURE AND WILDERNESS

This section begins by briefly outlining North American views of nature and wilderness and how these perspectives relate to the wilderness-appreciating ethos of North Americans, especially Canadians, in general. While this thesis does not intend to draw comparisons between North American and Chinese cultures, this overview provides a framework for understanding the subsequent discussion on traditional Chinese views of nature and wilderness, and how they might affect the wilderness recreation behaviours of contemporary Chinese.

3.2.1 North American views

It is noted that North American attitudes towards wilderness are undoubtedly influenced by Old World views. However, as this research is set in a North American and specifically Canadian context, rather than surveying views of wilderness throughout Western civilization, this section focuses on perspectives that have emerged in the past four hundred years of Euro-North American history. For a broader discussion on Western views of wilderness and nature, readers can refer to Coates (1998). Readers can also refer to Elbers' (1991) annotated bibliography to gain a greater familiarity with the large body of literature on wilderness values.

North American views of wilderness have evolved over the centuries. When the first European settlers arrived to the New World, they were well conditioned to view wilderness with fear. Wilderness had been known to be an inhospitable environment against which humans struggled. The dark, uninhabited forests in Europe were home to demons and spirits, and played an important role in their myths and folklore. Though wilderness was a place for spiritual refuge and purity in the Judeo-Christian tradition, it was also a barren, arid, and cursed land. (Nash, 2001). Adding to the first settlers' fear of wilderness was its threat to their survival. Canadian author Margaret Atwood (1972) argues that *survival* is the central symbol in English and French Canadian literature, with "nature the monster" serving as one of the key themes (p. 49). Poets and prose writers have often depicted nature as "dead and unanswering or actively hostile to man" (Ibid). Atwood contends that the types of landscapes that prevail in Canadian literature mirror the attitudes society holds towards nature.

After this initial fear, wilderness became something to be subjugated and exploited. Destroying wilderness meant progress – man was "an agent of civilization" battling and winning against his traditional foe, yielding it to the development of "cities, towns, and prosperous farms" (Nash,

2001, p. 41). However, under the influence of the European Romantics, urban sophisticates began to develop an appreciation for wilderness beginning in the 18th century and into the early 19th century (Nash, 2001). Though the farmer still struggled against wilderness, the "cultured gentleman" viewed it as a place of escape from the city (Tuan, 1974). Thus, efforts to conserve undeveloped lands for parks and recreational purposes began. Natural spaces became "landscapes of leisure" for the growing leisured classes (Coates, 1998, p. 115). In Canada, the first National Park, Banff, was designated in 1885.

Naturalist philosopher Henry David Thoreau was the first North American to move beyond the romantic cliches surrounding wilderness and "approach the significance of the wild more closely" (Nash, 2001, p. 84). Thoreau, along with other mid- to late-19th century advocates of conservation, such as George Perkins Marsh and John Muir, popularized the notion of wilderness conservation for spiritual and intrinsic values. Today, there are efforts in revitalizing and reclaiming lost wilderness spaces (Lutz et al., 1999). With shrinking tracks of wilderness, overuse of designated wilderness areas, and conflicting interests, special interest groups such as the Western Canada Wilderness Society and Greenpeace strive to preserve wilderness and maintain ecologically sustainable communities. Though there are commonalties between North American and traditional Chinese views of wilderness, there are also some significant differences, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

3.2.2 Traditional Chinese views

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to offer a comprehensive review of the Chinese views of the natural world, considering that Chinese history spans over four thousand years. Rather, this section seeks to determine how traditional Chinese views of wilderness differ from North American views, drawing upon specific, contradictory perspectives from various points in Chinese history. For a more thorough examination of nature in Chinese traditions of thought, readers can refer to compilations by Callicott & Ames (1989), Girardot, Miller & Xiaogan (2001), and various works by Chinese-American geographer Tuan Yi-Fu[4].

To begin, finding references to Chinese views of *wilderness* was not an easy task. The term *wilderness* as understood by North Americans has no direct equivalent in the Chinese language. Hahn (2001) looks to classical Chinese literature and historical records in an attempt

[4] A selected bibliography of Tuan's books and articles can be found at http://www.cwu.edu/%7Egeograph/yi_fu.html.

to trace the terms and characters that concern the *notions* of wilderness. The term *huang*[5] translates as "vast uncultivated territories", and has been used in expressions for uninhabitable territories such as *da huang* (great expanse), *huangye* (wilderness expanse), and *huangdi* (vast earth expanse) (p. 205). The term *ye* refers to territories that are beyond administrative boundaries *(jiaowai)*. These lands, however, are not necessarily those farthest from urban centers or civilization. Hahn points out that *ye* as space is "mentally integrated into other types of spaces" (p. 206). The character *jiong* is discussed in the *Shijing*, the classical *Book of Odes*. According to this source,

> *What is outside of the district city* (yi) *is called 'outskirts'* (jiao)*. What is beyond these 'outskirts' is called Wilderness* (ye)*. External to the wilderness are the forests* (lin)*, and still further out is what is called 'arid land'* (tong) (in Hahn, 2001, p. 206).

Hahn notes that this hierarchical classification suggests that wilderness, according to the Chinese, extends from the city outskirts to wooded areas and can still serve as agricultural or pastoral purposes. Though far enough from an urban area not to allow its "potentially evil or irritating influences to affect settlements", it is still not far enough to escape human speculation, curiosity, and utilitarian planning (p. 206).

Closely related to wilderness is the concept of *nature*. Nature has been described in classical Chinese texts as possessing wilderness characteristics. For instance, the *Laozi* describes nature as "untamed, uncivilized, and uninhabitable" (Hahn, 2001, p. 205). With only a fuzzy translation of the term wilderness, and with limited English-language literature on Chinese views of wilderness (since an equivalent term does not exist), the section examines Chinese views of both wilderness and nature, using the terms interchangeably.

3.2.2.1 Fear

Like the first settlers in North America, the Chinese initially viewed wilderness with fear. The rugged environment in China may be a contributing factor. The majority of the population lives in a land of stark contrasts, where alluvial plains sharply give rise to steep-sided mountains. The lack of a foothill zone results in mountains appearing taller and more sheer than they actually are (Tuan, 1974). Fear of the Chinese landscape has long been expressed in paintings and poetry. Human figures in landscape paintings, such as Kuo Hsi's *Early Spring* (1072 A.D., Northern Sung), were dwarfed by vertical peaks that were covered with dark forest and so high that they obscured the sun (Casey, 2002; Tuan, 1974). Poets in the Former Han dynasty (202

[5] Appendix A shows the Chinese characters for these terms.

B.C. to 9 A.D.) described mountains as “broken and wild before which one’s heart stood still, aghast” (Tuan, 1974, p. 71), and wrote of forests in Southern China as holding “terror rather than beauty” due to “twisting and snaking trees”, tigers, and leopards (Tuan, 1993, p. 127).

3.2.2.2 Stigma

In addition to this initial fear, the traditional Chinese perceived a stigma attached to wilderness. Hahn (2001) notes that wilderness spaces were perceived by the early Chinese to be uninhabitable for the “civilized” Han majority (p. 205). The minority Chinese roaming these frontier spaces were wild, ignorant of civilized conduct, and “a couple of notches down the evolutionary ladder” (Short, 1991, p. 22). Chinese writers and officials also deemed wilderness to be of inferior value.

It is possible that urbanites in modern, coastal China still attach a stigma to the rural countryside, since it is largely dominated by an impoverished, “backward” lifestyle and peasant farming. According to the World Bank, there are 106 million people in China living below the poverty line[6] and millions more hovering just above this status (in Gittings, 2000). Most reside in scattered areas across deserts, hills, mountains and plateaus in the country’s central and western regions, which remain backward compared to the booming coastal cities in modernized China (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2001). To extract a living, the peasants work tiny plots of land, mostly by hand, since there are scarce supplies of agricultural machinery and other modern implements (Worden, Savada & Dolan, 1987). Some peasants also take on odd jobs or borrow money to supplement their income (Biers, 1993).

When peasants migrate to urban centers, city dwellers witness first hand their inferior position. Government policy in China divides the country’s population into urban and rural categories, with members of the latter ineligible for benefits including education, social security, and employment[7]. Peasants, with their legislated, life-long rural status can “seek only low-paying jobs shunned by urban residents” (Residence system, 2001). Gittings (2000) writes of well-dressed Shanghainese relaxing at a foreign franchised café while migrant workers from the Chinese interior “laboriously scrape away blobs of chewing gum and dirt by hand, using bare razor blades,” on the marble pavement outside (n. pag.). If the countryside is the home of such

[6] According to the World Bank, poverty is defined as making less than one US dollar per day.

poor, inferior people, why would Chinese who have prized, legal status as urbanites choose to recreate in such spaces?

3.2.2.3 Submission

Though China has a history of environmental exploitation that dates back over a thousand years (Paper, 2001), traditional Chinese have nevertheless always maintained that nature is a revered power that seeks to "dominate human life, to which humans submit" (Meyer, 2001, p. 219). This contrasts with the traditional North American stance of exploiting and subjugating the natural environment. Chinese submissiveness towards nature is particularly evidenced in Daoist thought and landscape paintings. For instance, Zhuangzi, a Daoist philosopher, proposed that humans should focus their attentions on nature and submit to its forces (Smitha, 2003). Laozi, author of the *Daode jing*, also emphasized yielding to nature. Smits (2003) notes that many Daoist-influenced paintings lack human presence. Typically humans and their structures, such as houses, are greatly minimized, forming an indistinct part of the landscape. This suggests that humans are only an insignificant part of nature. The beauty and power of nature are still taught in schools in China and Taiwan today. As Meyer (2001) notes, these subjects thrive in language, morality, social studies, and geography textbooks.

3.2.2.4 Beauty

Conservation of natural spaces has been long standing in Chinese history, though its form and purpose differed from the North American standard. Unlike the wild, rugged expanses of North American parks and reserves, which in part served recreation purposes, nature conservation in China took the form of well-manicured gardens and nature sanctuaries, which emphasized beauty and aesthetic expression (Meyer, 2001). They were "designed to foster nature and simplicity" and lead people to self-realization (Lee & Wang, 1992, n. pag).

While strongly inspired and shaped by Daoist ideals, many of the values and aesthetic principles of the garden tradition are considered simply "Chinese" (Meyer, 2001). Chinese gardens comprised of *yin* (soft) and *yang* (hard) elements, namely water and miniaturized mountains of craggy limestone rocks, which were the two most essential components (Tuan, 1993). Secondary elements included trees, flowers, fruits, birds, fish, and other symbols of the "ten thousand things" (Meyer, 2001). Since they were an attempt to re-create nature, Chinese

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[7] It is noted that China is beginning to reform its residence system. Rural residents who own an urban residence and have a stable income source are eligible to become permanent urban residents

gardens were carefully contrived, manipulated, and arranged. Daoist mountain retreats served as nature sanctuaries. The Castle Peak *(Qing Shan)* temple grounds, for example, consisted of tens of acres of managed garden, grove, and woodland, which gave way to forests that extended up the mountain side. Vegetation nearer to the temple was more carefully pruned into "garden" form (Anderson, 2001). Hahn (2001) notes that even today, the monastic mountain enclosure is to the Chinese what the secularized national park is to North Americans.

3.2.2.5 Towards wilderness conservation and appreciation?

A shift towards a more Western approach to conservation began almost a half century ago, with the establishment of the first national nature reserve in Guangdong Province in 1956. The conservation movement picked up in the late 1970s and 1980s, and greatly accelerated in the 1990s. By 2001, 1,270 reserves had been established throughout China, ranging in size from a few hectares or less to more than 247,000 square kilometers[8]. While legislated protection of nature reserves suggests Chinese authorities have developed an appreciation for large-scale conservation efforts, they have not raised sufficient funds to ensure their proper management. An estimated 7.6 million rural people live in these reserves or extract resources from within their boundaries (Coggins, 2003). Furthermore, though certain animal and plant species outside of protected area boundaries may be protected by legislation (e.g. Hong Kong's Wild Animals Protection Ordinance and Forests & Countryside Ordinance), their *habitat* is not (Dudgeon, 1999). With conservation still in the incipient stages of development in China, it is questionable as to whether wilderness appreciation has penetrated the ethos of the Chinese people.

3.3 LIMITED EXPERIENCE WITH WILDERNESS AREAS AND ACTIVITIES

Limited experience with wilderness areas and activities emerged as another factor that might explain why Chinese are less inclined to participate in wilderness-oriented recreation activities. Low levels of experience can arise from fear of the wilderness environment and limited access to wilderness areas.

3.3.1 Fear of the wilderness environment

Though not unique to the Chinese population, limited experience with wilderness may arise from fear of the wilderness environment. According to Bixler & Floyd (1997), people can become highly fearful of wilderness even without having direct negative experiences. This fear will have

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(Residence system, 2001).

[8] As with the Changtang Nature Reserve in Tibet, which is the second largest reserve in the world.

been learned from indirect sources, including books, horror movies, and television shows, which often portray wilderness in a negative light. For example, animals and rural landscapes have been used to convey a sense of mystery in literature, and insects have been erroneously and negatively portrayed in religion, music, and a variety of print and television media (Bixler, Carlisle, Hammitt & Floyd, 1994). The authors also note that people without any prior experience with wilderness can be "overwhelmed by the sheer number of unrecognizable objects, smells, sounds, and situations even when no immediate dangers… are present" and therefore respond negatively to these areas (n. pag). For example, urban students feared snakes, insects, certain plants, getting lost, and getting dirty while on field trips to wildland areas. The researchers also noted that students frequently used the terms "dirty" and "disgusting" when describing aspects of their field trip experience.

Considering the physical geography of China, Tuan (1974) notes that China lacks traditional parkland scenery of "open grasslands dotted with wood lots" (p. 126). It is these savannah-like natural environments that are preferred by Asian, European, and North American adult groups alike. This is possibly due to a genetic disposition to prefer natural areas that have "lower levels of biophobic properties", such as spatial enclosure, and present less likelihood of encountering snakes, spiders, and other "fear relevant stimuli" (Ulrich, 1993, p. 88).

3.3.2 Limited access to wilderness areas

For Chinese Vancouverites who grew up in Hong Kong, limited experience with parks might also be attributed to the limited access to wilderness areas in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong population is quite accustomed to crowded, urban conditions that are far removed from nature. Hong Kong has a population of 6.8 million people occupying an 1100km^2 area. The population density is 6,250 persons/km^2. Park space is extremely limited, with only 61m^2 per capita (Hong Kong Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department, 2003; Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department, 2002). In comparison, British Columbia has almost 25,000m^2 of Provincial Park space alone per capita (British Columbia Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection, 2001a; Statistics Canada 2002). With such limited space, few residents experience outdoor recreation activities, let alone wilderness-oriented recreation activities. The Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department (in Ng, 1986) reports that only one in five thousand Hong Kong residents over the age of six go tent camping and only one in 1,900 go hiking. Activities such as nature studies, orienteering, wayfaring, and mountaineering are also relatively unpopular in spite of encouragement by the government (Jim, 1989). This is not to say that

Hong Kong residents do not experience outdoor recreation. There is a strong desire for scenic landscapes, greenery, and fresh air (Jim, 1989), as evidenced in the 11.1 million visits that Country Parks in Hong Kong received in 2001-2002[9] (HKAFCD, 2002). However, outdoor recreation pursuits take place in a highly developed setting.

The extensive system of Country Parks was formally established in 1976 to conserve species and natural landscapes, provide open areas for public enjoyment, and protect areas from urban engulfment (Lee Fong, 1982). These parks are usually within 30km from main urban areas and are easily accessible by foot or public transit (Jim, 1989). Much of the park activity takes place at barbecue-picnic sites, or "honeypots". These sites are equipped with picnic tables, benches, and barbecue pits that meet American National Park Service standards[10], litter bins, toilets, playgrounds, rain shelters, and refreshment kiosks (Jim, 1986, 1989; Lee Fong, 1982). Country Parks also have visitor centers and educational programs (HKAFCD, 2003)

The importance of family and interdependency may be one reason why visitors tend to use well developed rather than less-developed areas in Country Parks. With the high number of facilities and services available, honeypots are convenient sites that foster family-oriented or large-group activities such as picnicking and barbecuing. Since the notions of family and group life are fundamental to Asian cultures (Irwin, 1996; Sue, 1973), honeypots may be seen as ideal recreation areas whereas low-intensity, less-developed areas of the Country Parks may be viewed as unsuitable. These areas may serve only as a backdrop for gregarious activities (Jim, 1989). It is possible that Hong Kong Chinese have continued to hold their preferences for park settings with a higher number of amenities after arriving to Canada.

3.4 TRADITIONAL CHINESE ATTITUDES TOWARDS RECREATION

In addition to limited experience with wilderness areas and activities, traditional Chinese also hold different attitudes towards recreation activities, which might hinder them from participating in wilderness recreation.

3.4.1 Priorities on school and work

The traditional Chinese belief that academic achievement is paramount might also account for lower Chinese participation rates in outdoor recreation activities. The importance of academic

[9] This works out to 1.6 visits per person. In comparison, provincial parks in the Greater Vancouver area received 6.1 million visits in that year, giving a per person figure of 2.75.

[10] It is noted that Hong Kong Country Parks system was shaped by the British Country Parks system, which in turn is influenced by North American ideas of provincial and state parks and conservation areas.

success dates back to Confucian times, when excelling in the civil service exams was the only institutionalized means of wealth and upward social mobility. In addition, academic success ensured that students did not lose face among their peers or shame their family (Lew, 1998). Academic competition remains fierce today. Up until the late 1980s, Hong Kong had only two universities servicing their then-population of six million people (Bond, 1992). Chinese parents continue to place great emphasis on their children's academic achievement; not going to university is "unthinkable in many Chinese-Canadian homes" (Middleton, 2003, n. pag.). Consequently, socializing is largely restricted to family outings, and extracurricular activities such as sports are kept to a minimum (Bond, 1991). Being expected to study "from the time she came home from school until she went to bed" recently drove a Chinese-Canadian grade 8 student in Vancouver and two classmates (also Chinese-Canadian girls) to run away from home for two weeks (Middleton, 2003, n. pag.).

For adults, the pressure is to focus on and succeed in work. Bond (1991) explains: "The Chinese have often felt beleaguered and vulnerable to the vicissitudes of famine and political change, and to the whims of authority. Wealth is often their only buffer…" (p. 18). Lew (1998) adds that achieving prestige, social position, public acclaim, and the approval of family and friends are also motivations to be very industrious. Thus, many Chinese in Hong Kong and China – even those who have a lot of money – work seven days a week and set aside little time for rest or recreation (Millard, 1987). For new immigrants to Canada, work is a matter of survival. Some struggle with two jobs while striving to overcome language and cultural barriers. Only when they become more economically, socially, and psychologically secure can they put time into recreation. This change in attitude often takes place over a generation (Millard, 1987).

3.4.2 Prestigious recreation

For those who do pursue outdoor recreation, there is a trend towards prestigious and equipment-oriented activities. In Taiwan, for example, people are increasingly attracted to costly activities such as rock climbing, hang gliding, paragliding, wind surfing, ultralight flying, and deep-sea fishing (Chen, 1990). Businessmen are also establishing "private recreational clubs in the countryside or in the mountain and coastal areas for the exclusive use of members and their families" (Ibid, p.19). These clubs, likened to North American country clubs with golf ranges and tennis courts, charge membership fees ranging from $7,300 USD to almost $22,000 USD – an amount that only the wealthy can afford.

The desire for participating in costly activities may stem from the emergence of the *nouveau riche*[11] in Asia and their desire to show off their social position (Chu, 1996). Even after immigrating to Vancouver, where the social climate is more relaxed, there is pressure to engage in conspicuous consumption. Smart (1994) writes:

> *If all your friends and neighbours in Richmond (Vancouver) were driving a Volvo, a Mercedes, or a BMW, how could you be happy with a dependable but lowly Corolla? You are not part of the crowd if you do not wear 'Rolex on your wrist and Bally on your feet'* (p. 113).

With relative affluence and social pressure, it is possible that Chinese people seek a more "luxurious" recreation experience rather than a rustic, wilderness-oriented one.

3.5 SUMMARY

A review of the literature revealed three main reasons for Chinese under-participation in wilderness recreation: different views regarding nature and wilderness, limited experience with wilderness, and different attitudes about recreation. This suggests that cultural views and attitudes as well as external factors play a role in under-participation, and hints that the ethnicity theory may have some merit in this study. Findings from this literature survey do not appear to support the other theories on ethnic under-use of parks.

[11] The *nouveau riche* or "new rich" refers to the wave of wealthy immigrants from Hong Kong that arrived in Vancouver between the mid-1980s to mid-1990s.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter outlines the research methods used for this study. It begins by discussing the chosen qualitative methodology. This is followed by a description of the study location and a rationale for its selection. Specific details are provided about how qualitative interviews and secondary data analysis were used to answer the research questions. The chapter addresses methods of data analysis and concludes by outlining the key limitations of the study.

4.1 THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The qualitative approach was the chosen methodology because there is little known information about the research topic, it recognizes the multiplicity of voices, and it is flexible in design. As discussed in Chapter 2, despite recent research efforts on Asian under-representation in parks and outdoor activities, there remains a lack of empirical studies on the outdoor recreation patterns and behaviours of North American Chinese, especially for wilderness-oriented recreation. When little is known about a topic and previous research is scarce, an exploratory study, which relies largely on qualitative data, is appropriate (Creswell, 1994; Neuman, 2000). Thus, the goal here was to become more familiar with the phenomenon, identify important variables of interest, and generate ideas upon which future researchers can formulate more precise questions (Neuman, 2000; Palys, 1997).

That qualitative research values all perspectives (Taylor & Bogden, 1984) and seeks to understand multiple realities (Creswell, 1994) was also pertinent to a study that examines a heterogeneous community. Chinese families in Vancouver have immigrated from Hong Kong, Mainland China, Taiwan, and other Asian countries. They have been in Canada for a few months to over three generations. Efforts were made to interview participants with different backgrounds and generational status with the belief that the varied opinions and perspectives would paint a more comprehensive picture of why the community has been less active in their wilderness pursuits.

A final aspect of qualitative research that was important in this study is flexibility. Flexibility is an advantage because unexpected circumstances may arise and require slight changes in the research design at any time (Babbie, 2001). Flexibility also allows changes and modifications to the interview schedule as data collection progresses. For the present study, time constraints towards the end of the field season prevented two individuals from participating in a face-to-face

interview. They were desired participants because they possessed characteristics that were still under-represented in the sample. An adaptive approach allowed the researcher to modify and send the interview schedule to the individuals via mail, such that it could be completed as a questionnaire. Their responses broadened the perspectives of the final sample.

4.2 RESEARCH SETTING AND SITE SELECTION RATIONALE

Data for this study were collected from the Greater Vancouver region, which is a metropolitan area situated in the southwest corner of British Columbia. The region consists of 21 member municipalities and covers almost 2,900 km^2. It has a population of just under two million people. The Chinese community constitutes 47% of the visible minority population in the area and 17% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2001b). In 1996, English was the primary spoken language by 64% of the population, followed by Chinese at 13%. The average income across the region was $54,055 (Greater Vancouver Regional District, 2002).

The region is renowned for its scenic beauty, including the Coast Mountains and extensive freshwater and marine waterways. Residents in the region have access to ample park and recreational space. According to the Greater Vancouver Regional District Parks Department (1995), southwestern BC contains 325 major parks[12] that cover over 385,000 ha. These parks provide a significant number of facilities (see Figure 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1: FACILITY HIGHLIGHTS IN 325 MAJOR PARKS IN SOUTHWESTERN BC, 1995[13]

- 2,354 km of trails for walking, hiking, cycling and equestrian use
- 21,800 seating capacity at picnic tables and in shelters
- 11,695 public and private campsites for RV, auto camping and tenting
- 258 km of shoreline available for fishing and over 2,000 m of fishing piers
- 288 km of cross-country skiing and snowshoeing trails
- 65,545 skiers per hour ski capacity at downhill sites
- 22 interpretive facilities that provide 1,876 nature study programs annually

(Source: GVRD Parks, 1995, p. 5)

[12] Major parks, as defined by the study, include: "Federal, provincial, regional and a limited number of municipal sites with sufficient land and resource values available for public use and managed for outdoor recreation and conservation purposes" (GVRD Parks Department, 1995, p. 2)

[13] It is noted that BC Parks' re-organization in 2002 has affected these figures. Cuts to the Extension Services Division meant discontinuing all interpretive programs and closing most visitor centers throughout the province. In addition, visitor facilities (e.g. toilets, garbage pick-up) and camping were no longer permitted in 45 parks in BC (Riccius, 2002). Specific numbers for the Greater Vancouver area were not available.

Many of these parks are located right in the city and provide a quick escape into a wilderness-oriented setting. Pacific Spirit Regional Park is the largest park in the City of Vancouver and occupies 763 ha of the city's western peninsula. Its established, second-growth forest is traversed by over 50 km of mixed-use and pedestrian trails (British Columbia Tourism Travel Guide, 2002). Several parks providing gateways to vast tracts of true wilderness are located a short distance from the urban core. Cypress Provincial Park, for example, covers 3,000 ha and lies 8 km north of the District of West Vancouver. Mount Seymour Provincial Park covers 3,500 ha and is located 15 km northeast of the downtown core. Both are accessible by car or public transit. Many of the parks that extend up the Fraser Valley or Whistler / Sea-to-Sky corridor are within a two-hour drive from the city.

Despite their significant population representation in the Greater Vancouver region and the relatively easy access to parks and recreation opportunities, Chinese visitors are still under-represented in parks, as detailed in the introductory chapter. Park authorities have yet to determine the *causes* of these recreation behaviour patterns. Greater Vancouver thus provides a suitable context for a study that examines the reasons that might be inhibiting park visitation and wilderness recreation participation by the Chinese community.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

Interviews and secondary data analysis were the two methods of data collection for this study. By using multiple sources of information (data triangulation) and means of collection (method triangulation), researcher and methodological biases were limited and a deeper, clearer understanding of the research questions was achieved (Taylor & Bogden, 1984). The results of data collection are outlined in the following chapter.

4.3.1 Face-to-face qualitative interviews

The face-to-face qualitative interview was employed as the principal data collection method for the research sample, which consisted of 51 Chinese individuals[14] residing in Greater Vancouver who were aged 20 to 54 and had varying levels of acculturation. Such interviews are

[14] This study did not use a control group of mainstream respondents because its intent was to find *subcultural* factors that might be contributing to Chinese under-participation in wilderness recreation. Previous studies (i.e. BC Parks Research Services, 1991; Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific, 1994) have already outlined general reasons for non-participation that are common to Asian and mainstream groups (e.g. poor health, lack of time, or lack of interest).

appropriate for determining feelings, thoughts, intentions, and past behaviours of research participants. This allows in-depth analysis of the interviewee's perspective (Patton, 1990).

4.3.1.1 Sampling design

Study participants were recruited on the basis of age, level of acculturation, and gender. Table 4.1 shows that participation in nature-related activities tends to be more popular among Canadians in the 25-54 year age group (Federal-Provincial-Territorial Task Force on the Importance of Nature to Canadians, 1999). These activities are also more popular among Canadians with a post-secondary education (Table 4.2) and a personal income over $30,000 (Ibid, 1999). Thus, interviews were also conducted with members of the 20-24 year age group who are currently enrolled in or graduated from a post-secondary program, which may lead to higher income earning potential. Since these groups have a higher likelihood of participating in outdoor activities in natural areas, patterns of under-use of wilderness-oriented parks and under-participation in wilderness-oriented recreation activities discovered among the Chinese participants during the interview process might suggest cultural influences responsible for this behaviour.

TABLE 4.1: PARTICIPATION OF CANADIANS IN NATURE-RELATED ACTIVITIES BY AGE

Age group	Percent
15-19	9.8
20-24	10.1
25-34	25.0
35-44	25.6
45-54	15.4
55-64	7.6
65+	6.5

Source: Federal-Provincial-Territorial Task Force on the Importance of Nature to Canadians, *The Importance of Nature to Canadians: Survey Highlights*. (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1999), p. 9.

TABLE 4.2: PARTICIPATION OF CANADIANS IN NATURE-RELATED ACTIVITIES BY EDUCATION LEVEL

Education	Percent
0 to 8 years	5.1
Some secondary	16.2
Graduated from high school	17.3
Some post-secondary	11.2
Post-secondary certificate / diploma	27.4
University degree	22.8

Source: Federal-Provincial-Territorial Task Force on the Importance of Nature to Canadians, *The Importance of Nature to Canadians: Survey Highlights*. (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1999), p. 9.

Since this study postulates a relationship between acculturation and wilderness-oriented park use and recreation participation, the sample was also stratified based on the participant's level of acculturation. When participants were being recruited, the researcher had in mind an informal quota system to ensure that the final sample would contain three roughly equal-sized categories of respondents: "highly Chinese", "highly Canadian", and "bicultural". This initial, subjective assessment of acculturation was based on the researcher's perception and knowledge of the participants' "Chineseness" (e.g. fluency in English, generational status, participation in Chinese organizations). Individuals who were interviewed subsequently had their levels of acculturation formally measured using a standardized instrument, the Vancouver Index of Acculturation[15] (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). This formal assessment was used in the final categorization of participants. To further represent the population, the sample was stratified by gender (25 female, 26 male).

A hybrid convenience-purposive-snowball sampling method was adopted to recruit participants. In addition to the author's personal social network, four groups were asked to provide names and contact information of Chinese individuals whom they thought would be interested in participating in the study:

- Banana Magazine (a magazine on Asian-Canadian lifestyle and culture; yielded two successful interviews);
- Chinese Cultural Center (two interviews);
- Fusion TV (a television magazine on Chinese-Canadian lifestyle; one interview);
- United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society (SUCCESS, the largest Chinese social service agency in British Columbia; eight interviews from two branch locations).

Individuals meeting the recruitment criteria were interviewed and asked to provide additional contacts, each of whom provided further contacts and so forth. Ninety-one percent of individuals meeting recruitment criteria agreed to participate, leading to a final sample size of 51. Table 4.3 indicates that seven interviews were conducted at the first level of contact (e.g. individual recruited from SUCCESS), 26 at the second level (e.g. a friend of the individual from SUCCESS), 16 at the third level (e.g. a friend of the friend, etc.), 1 at the fourth level, and 1 at the fifth level. Only one individual meeting recruitment criteria refused to participate, stating he did not have time for an interview. Four others who expressed initial interest in the project never returned subsequent phone calls or e-mails to set up an interview time. This suggested, again, a lack of time rather than a lack of support or interest in the research.

TABLE 4.3: SNOWBALL SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Degree of contact	Number contacted	Number meeting recruitment criteria	Refusals / no response	Final sample
1	24	9	2	7
2	35	27	1	26
3	19	18	2	16
4	2	1	0	1
5	1	1	0	1
Total	81	56	5	51

Forty-nine interviews were conducted in the Greater Vancouver area between June 2002 and August 2002. Interviews were held at the participant's residence, the researcher's home, or a

[15] Discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.1.3

mutually convenient location. Interviews were typically 45 to 50 minutes long, though they ranged from 35 to 70 minutes. All interviews were tape recorded with the consent of the participants and partially transcribed for analysis[16]. Two additional participants completed a modified interview schedule sent via mail due to their time constraints.

Glaser & Strauss's theoretical sampling strategy (in Taylor & Bogdan, 1984) was used as a guide for determining the total number of participants required. In theoretical sampling, the actual number of interviews conducted is relatively unimportant. Rather, it is the potential for developing new insights or expanding or refining the concepts that have already been developed that is significant. Thus, interviews were conducted to a theoretical saturation point, where additional interviews no longer yielded new information.

4.3.1.2 Structure

The structure of the interviews drew upon the strengths of three different approaches to qualitative interviewing: the standardized open-ended approach; the interview guide approach; and the closed, fixed response approach. The main style adopted was the standardized open-ended approach, which takes each respondent through a set of carefully worded and pre-arranged open-ended questions. This systematic process minimizes variation in the questions posed to the respondents, thereby reducing the bias that is inherent in having different interviews for different respondents. Moreover, it facilitates the organization and analysis of data; questions and answers are easily located and similar items easily aggregated (Patton, 1990). Aspects of the interview guide approach were also incorporated into the interview structure. This approach adds richness to the data by allowing the interviewer to probe and ask questions that would illuminate a particular issue or explore topics that were not originally included in the interview schedule. This adds more flexibility and spontaneity to an interview, which is less feasible if the standardized approach is strictly adhered to (Ibid). The closed, fixed response approach was also used. It is characterized by pre-determined questions and fixed response categories from which participants select. This approach was incorporated to assemble strictly factual, demographic information such as income and education, allow a greater number of questions to be asked in a limited amount of time, and facilitate data processing and analysis (Ibid). In summary, this hybrid approach minimizes interviewer bias through a somewhat rigid interview schedule yet allows the flexibility to explore non-scheduled topics. Furthermore, it makes good use of the limited time available in an interview setting.

[16] Quantitative questions were not transcribed but instead entered into a spreadsheet for analysis.

4.3.1.3 Questions

To draw out reasons why the Greater Vancouver Chinese community might be less inclined to visit wilderness-oriented parks and participate in outdoor activities in these areas, exploratory, open-ended questions and a few categorical response items were administered on the following topics:

- Views about wilderness;
- Experiences with outdoor recreation activities and wilderness-oriented parks;
- Preferences for vacation destinations and vacation activities;
- Awareness of local recreational opportunities and means to retrieve information about parks;
- Preference for park setting and facilities.

Scheduled and unscheduled probes were also used to elicit more elaborate responses from the participants. Categorical items were included in the assessment of socio-demographic characteristics to reduce the sensitivity of questions surrounding personal income and household composition (Palys, 1997). The interview schedule is found in Appendix B.

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) was used to determine the participants' level of acculturation. This 20-question, self-report instrument assesses several domains relevant to acculturation (Ryder et al. 2000). Questions cover topics including values, social relationships and adherence to traditions and are arranged in pairs to measure both the heritage (Chinese) and mainstream (Canadian) dimensions of acculturation. This bidimensional model was chosen for its brevity and because it constitutes a broader and more valid framework for understanding acculturation as compared to unidimensional scales, such as the Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) and the Chinese Canadian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (CCSIA)[17] (Ryder et al. 2000). Unlike the CCSIA, the VIA is standardized, thus increasing the study's reliability. Moreover, the VIA was specifically designed to measure the level of acculturation of the Chinese population in Vancouver, which is the target sample of this study. While the instrument is relatively new, it has been used by at least 15 acculturation researchers (though none have yet published papers) (A. Ryder, personal communication, December 9, 2002). Moreover, the bidimensional *approach* has been researched extensively for at least 20 years, most notably by John Berry (Ryder et. al 2000).

To ensure clarity and flow of the final question set and to determine the length of time it would take to complete an interview, two rounds of pre-tests were conducted with a total of 10 people in April, 2002. A few changes were made to the interview schedule to minimize difficulties in the actual interview process. As such, none of the pretests were used in the final data set. The study received tentative ethics approval from the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics in early May, 2002. Suggestions by the Office to strengthen the study were incorporated. The study received full ethics approval in mid-May.

4.3.2 Key informant interviews

Two key informants were also interviewed for the study because they are especially knowledgeable about the particular subject under study (Taylor & Bogden, 1984). The first key informant is a youth programmer at the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society (SUCCESS). He co-ordinates social and recreation programs for four hundred Chinese youth between the ages of 16 to 25 and is knowledgeable about their leisure behaviour and preferences. The informant also has a social work background and great insight into the Chinese culture and inter-generational differences between Chinese-Canadian children and their Chinese parents. The second informant is the president of the Green Club, the most active Asian environmental club in Greater Vancouver and Canada. In 2002, the club organized 18 eco-tours, 91 nature walks, 90 cultural programs, and 278 "healthy walks" for almost 6,200 participants (Green Club, 2003). The informant is the chief organizer and leader for the events and has information about the participants' outdoor recreation behaviour and preferences. He is unique in that he has insight into disconfirming cases, or cases that contradict a theory being tested (Palys, 1997). This study posits that "highly Chinese" individuals are *less* likely to visit parks and participate in outdoor recreation activities than "highly Canadian" individuals. In the past eight years, there have been over 26,000 participants in the club's nature activities. Most of the club's members are new immigrants, having arrived to Canada within the last two years and almost all within the last five years (K01). This contradiction warranted further investigation.

Key informants can also use their judgement to identify potential participants for the study. For the present research, the two informants assisted in identifying and recruiting six individuals who agreed to participate in face-to-face qualitative interviews.

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[17] For a more detailed description of the SL-ASIA and the CCSIA and their limitations, please refer to Appendix C.

Both interviews were conducted in August 2002 and were held at the informants' workplace and home, respectively. Both were approximately one hour in length. They were tape recorded with consent of the participants and fully transcribed for analysis.

The general interview guide approach was used for the key informant interviews. Rather than preparing a rigid and sequenced interview schedule, a basic outline of topics to be discussed with each informant was generated. Questions were not asked in a particular order nor was the actual wording of the questions pre-determined. This allowed for more flexibility and the periodic use of unscheduled probes and questions, and for the interview to unfold in a conversational style (Patton, 1990). Though there were differences between the two interview guides, both addressed types of activities the organization offers, participant characteristics and preferences, concerns of safety, availability of information, experiences with discrimination and other barriers that might prevent use and enjoyment of wilderness-oriented parks.

4.3.3 Secondary data analysis

Secondary data were analysed to complement and enhance the information collected from the interviews. Regional, provincial, and federal government reports were examined to determine general trends in park use, attitudes towards outdoor recreation, nature, and wildlife, and patterns of park use by ethnicity. Literature from a variety of disciplines including recreation and leisure studies, environmental philosophy, Asian studies, religious studies, psychology, geography, and park planning was also analysed in an attempt to piece together the Asian experience with and perceptions about parks, recreation, and wilderness[18].

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The majority of data analysis took place between September 2002 to December 2002, after all interview tapes were transcribed. The researcher began by reading over all field notes and transcripts, noting important themes and ideas. Since it was anticipated that much of the material would be latent rather than manifest, the *concept* was chosen as the unit of analysis. As Taylor & Bogden (1984) note, concepts allow deeper meanings to be illuminated. Following

[18] Secondary sources were obtained by keyword searching on the University of Waterloo Library's TRELLIS catalogue, CISTI Source, and the Web of Science. Four journals were also of particular interest: *Journal of Applied Recreation Research (JARR), Journal of Leisure Research*, *Leisure Sciences*, and *Journal of Parks and Recreation Administration*. Relevant articles from all years were sought using indices and electronic databases. Individual issues of JARR dated 1989 to 1998 were systematically searched. Each issue of the latter three journals from 1998 onwards were also reviewed to ensure the most recent studies were included in analysis.

the initial survey, each transcript was systematically searched for all possible themes, which were recorded. Coding categories were developed around these ideas and applied to all data. It is noted that the coding scheme was refined as the process unfolded: overlapping themes were collapsed, and categories added, expanded, and redefined. Data were then sorted into the coding categories and quantified using frequency tables for each question. Data initially left out of analysis were reviewed to determine whether they would fit into existing categories or could form new categories. Most data collected were analysed. However, as it is impossible to use all data that are collected in a study (Taylor & Bogden, 1984), the researcher did not attempt to force remaining data into the coding scheme if they did not fit. Secondary sources were later examined to support, contest, and enhance the interview findings.

4.5 STUDY LIMITATIONS

One limitation of this study concerns the lack of a representative sample, due to the treatment of a heterogeneous community as a single entity and the sampling method employed. As detailed in Section 4.1, the Greater Vancouver Chinese community is very diverse, and it is arguable that its members do not in fact form a community. For instance, the Mainland Chinese and the Taiwanese can be interpreted as two distinct communities due to their political and historical differences. While the researcher recognized the heterogeneity within the Chinese community, it was beyond the scope of this project to comprehensively study every sub-group of Chinese. Further stratifying the sample by country of origin would have necessitated a larger number of respondents. Limited time and financial resources prevented this. As such, the Chinese "community" was treated as one entity, though efforts were made to recruit as diverse a sample as possible. Even so, the Taiwanese sub-group was notably under-represented, with only two respondents. Furthermore, judging from the respondents' demographic characteristics such as income and year of arrival in Canada, the wave of Chinese immigrants from the "second diaspora"[19] (Ley, 1995) was also under-represented in the sample.

The lack of a representative sample also stems from the use of the hybrid convenience-purposive-snowball sampling procedure, which results in a non-random sample. Snowball sampling tends to over-sample a sub-group of the targeted population because people tend to know others who have similarities with them (Palys, 1997). In other words, participants

[19] The second diaspora of Asian immigrants to Vancouver took place during the 1980s to mid-1990s. Most of these immigrants were Hong Kong businessmen and their families, and citizens who wanted to leave the territory before it was repatriated to China in 1997.

recruited by the initial contacts are likely to share more similarities with one another than with others in the general population. Thus, individuals who are not connected with the initial contacts are under-sampled. To help mitigate this, the recruitment process began with several different snowballs. The lack of a representative sample affects the generalisability of the research findings to the wider population, which in itself is a weakness of using a qualitative methodological framework. However, the intent of this exploratory study was not to make broad generalizations about park planning for ethnic Chinese visitors, but rather to uncover and suggest ideas that might be responsible for differences in park visitation and wilderness recreation participation patterns.

Due to the researcher's limited ability to communicate in Cantonese and Mandarin, an interpreter conducted interviews with nine participants who spoke little or no English, and translated and transcribed interview materials. Herein lies another challenge to the study. Cross-cultural communications are subject to misunderstandings since some words cannot be directly translated or take on a very different meaning in other languages (Patton, 1990). For example, the term "wilderness" as we understand it in mainstream English speaking society has no direct equivalent in the Chinese language. In the Chinese-language interviews, "wilderness" was represented by the terms *da zi ran* and *fang yan*. One Cantonese-speaking respondent pointed out that the terms "are somehow related but the feeling is very different" (LMHC05). *Da zi ran* is a natural place that elicits feelings of harmony, comfort, and beauty whereas *fang yan* is a rural area far from the city with few signs of human settlement or activity. In such a remote area, one may feel a little scared or apprehensive. Another respondent, a recent immigrant, described wilderness as "No trees, no water. Only few animals… like a…desert" (LMHC30) – a definition he had learned from a Chinese-English dictionary[20]. While some meaning was inevitably lost when translating the Chinese-language interviews – both in the questions posed and in the responses given – the data were invaluable as they provided insight into the recreational preferences, behaviour, and motivations of a distinct segment of the Chinese community in Greater Vancouver.

The researcher's Chinese background, upbringing in Vancouver, and limited experience with wilderness was an advantage in this study as it provided a degree of familiarity with the

[20] It is noted that wilderness is described in the King James Bible as having desert-like qualities. Since many Chinese immigrants have turned to Christianity, it is possible that the Bible's meaning of wilderness influences their perception of the word.

informants, setting, and research questions. However, this familiarity unquestionably shapes the interpretation of events. Creswell (1994) warns of the biases, values, and judgements that may arise from this. Rehman (2002) also points out that researchers who share socio-demographic characteristics with their participants (e.g. race, ethnicity) "may be too quick to assume… similarity with (the) participants when, in reality, none or few may exist" (p. 43). Rehman emphasizes taking great care when analysing data to avoid inaccuracies in the final results.

4.6 SUMMARY

With the goal of this study being to explore the cultural nuances that might be inhibiting wilderness-oriented park visitation and recreation participation by the Chinese community, and with little information available on this topic, a qualitative methodology was necessary. This enabled the researcher to seek out diverse perspectives while maintaining a flexible research design. Using open-ended questions designed to yield in-depth responses, 51 face-to-face interviews were conducted with a stratified sample of Chinese individuals residing in Greater Vancouver. Two additional key informant interviews were conducted for greater insight into the topic. Interview information was enhanced and complemented with secondary data. Data analysis was in accordance to the approach that Taylor & Bogden (1984) suggest for qualitative information. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, such an approach proved to be effective in addressing the research question at hand.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the face-to-face interviews that were conducted during summer 2002. It begins by detailing the socio-demographic characteristics of the interview participants. Their general outdoor recreation participation rates and extent and pattern of visitation to wilderness-oriented parks are reported. Motivations for visiting wilderness-oriented parks are also presented, followed by a discussion of the differences that arose within the research sample. The chapter closes by presenting themes that emerged from participants' insights on Chinese under-participation in wilderness recreation.

5.1 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS

The 51 ethnic Chinese individuals who participated in this study were almost evenly divided by gender; 25 were female and 26 were male. Their ages ranged from 19 to 54 years, with the mean age being 34.7 years. Approximately half of the participants live with one or more adults. Roughly one-third reside with a partner and one or more children. There were no instances of single parent households, which might reflect the traditional Chinese value of "non-divorce"[21]. All participants had at minimum completed high school. Sixty-five percent had completed college, university, or graduate/post-graduate degrees. In terms of income, 43% of participants reported a total personal income under $15,000. This relatively low income level is mostly attributed to the large number of students interviewed. One-third had an income between $15,000 and $44,999. Twenty-five percent reported an income of $45,000 or more. Table 5.1 summarizes the sample's demographic characteristics and provides a breakdown of demographics by *acculturation group* (described on following page).

TABLE 5.1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS (N=51)

	Total	HMLC	HMHC	LMLC	LMHC
Gender					
- Female	25	7	5	7	6
- Male	26	6	8	6	6
Age (mean years)	34.7	33.6	29.5	40.5	48

[21] Divorce among traditional Chinese is considered "a great shame or loss of face for a married couple", though this is changing due to Western influence (Lew, 1998, p. 213)

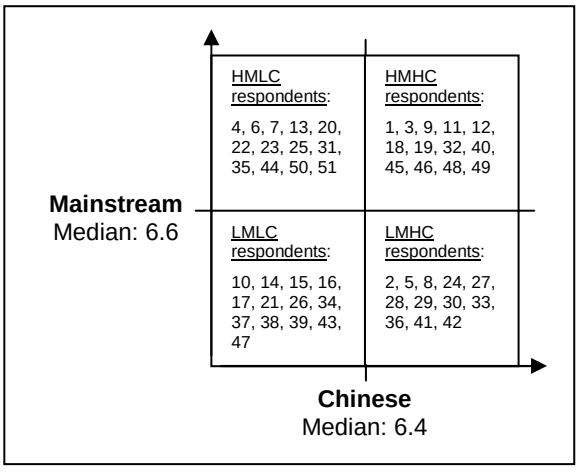
TABLE 5.1 CONT'D

	Total	HMLC	HMHC	LMLC	LMHC
Household composition					
- Single adult with one or more children under 18	0	0	0	0	0
- Couple with one or more children under 18	18	6	3	3	6
- Live alone	3	1	2	0	0
- Live with one or more adults	26	6	7	9	4
- Live with one or more adults and one or more children under 18	4	0	1	1	2
Highest level of formal schooling					
- High school graduate	5	0	0	4	1
- Some college/university	13	3	7	2	1
- College/university graduate	27	9	5	6	7
- Graduate or post-graduate degree	6	1	1	1	3
Total personal income					
- Under $15,000	22	3	6	6	7
- $15,000 to $29,999	7	2	3	1	1
- $30,000 to $44,999	9	2	2	2	3
- $45,000 to $59,999	4	1	0	2	1
- $60,000 to $74,999	5	4	1	0	0
- $75,000 to $89,999	1	0	0	1	0
- $90,000 and over	3	1	1	1	0

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; see Appendix B) was used to assess the participants' level of acculturation to Canadian culture. Each participant was given two scores, a mainstream (Canadian) score and a Chinese score. The median was calculated for both scores. Each participant was classified as being above or below the median mainstream score *and* above or below the median Chinese score. This resulted in four acculturation groups (Figure 5.1):

1. High Mainstream, Low Chinese (HMLC)
2. High Mainstream, High Chinese (HMHC)
3. Low Mainstream, Low Chinese (LMLC)
4. Low Mainstream, High Chinese (LMHC).

FIGURE 5.1: PARTICIPANT ID'S CLASSIFIED INTO FOUR ACCULTURATION GROUPS



Each group had 13 participants, with the exception of the last group, which had only 12.

Analysis of demographic characteristics that are key indicators of acculturation, namely language, place of birth, age at immigration, and length of residency, suggests that HMLC is the most acculturated or "most Canadian" group, HMHC is the second most acculturated group, LMLC the third most acculturated group, and LMHC the least acculturated or "most Chinese" group. Table 5.2 shows that increased levels of acculturation were associated with an increased percentage of participants who conducted the interview in English and were born in Canada. Of those born in Canada, generational status was positively correlated with level of acculturation. Among participants born outside Canada, those who arrived in Canada at a younger age and have spent a greater percentage of their life in this country had higher levels of acculturation. Conversely, immigrants who arrived much later in life and spent a significantly less proportion of their life in Canada, had lower levels of acculturation.

TABLE 5.2: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS THAT ARE INDICATORS OF ACCULTURATION

	Total	**HMLC**	**HMHC**	**LMLC**	**LMHC**
Language of interview	(N=51)	(N=13)	(N=13)	(N=13)	(N=12)
English	42	13	13	9	7
Cantonese or Mandarin	9	0	0	4	5
Place of birth	(N=51)	(N=13)	(N=13)	(N=13)	(N=12)
Canada	17	6	6	4	1
1st generation	11	4	4	2	1
2nd generation	5	2	1	2	0
3rd generation	1	0	1	0	0
Outside Canada	34	7	7	9	11
Hong Kong	20	5	7	3	5
Mainland China	9	0	0	5	4
Taiwan	2	0	0	0	2
Philippines	2	1	0	1	0
Vietnam	1	1	0	0	0
Participants' age at immigration, for those born outside Canada	(N=34)	(N=7)	(N=7)	(N=9)	(N=11)
Range (Years)	0.25-51	0.25-18	6-14	3-48	9-51
Mean (Years)	20.3	8.1	9.6	24.4	31.5
% of life spent in Canada, for those born outside Canada	(N=34)	(N=7)	(N=7)	(N=9)	(N=11)
Range (%)	1- 99	57-99	42-82	1- 94	1-44
Mean (%)	43.8	78.7	63.4	41.1	11.4

These four acculturation groups will be referred to within this chapter to illustrate the variations within the Chinese community regarding their wilderness-oriented recreation patterns, behaviours, and motivations. In many instances, data from the HMLC and HMHC groups (collectively referred to as the "high mainstream groups") were aggregated for analysis, as were data from the LMLC and LMHC groups (the "low mainstream groups"). This manner of grouping was most logical since the HMLC and HMHC groups were most similar to one another in terms of socio-demographic characteristic that are indicators of acculturation (see Table 5.2). This was also the case with the LMLC and LMHC groups. Though aggregating data this way essentially meant that the Chinese dimension of the scale was neglected, this was necessary to enhance the differences between more acculturated individuals and less acculturated ones. Drawing comparisons between all four groups would have resulted in less apparent patterns, due to the limited number of individuals in each group. Furthermore, if acculturation is defined as the extent to which an individual identifies with and engages in the activities of the Canadian culture, then it is the mainstream score, rather than Chinese score, that is of primary interest (L. Alden, personal communication, April 25, 2002).

5.2 OUTDOOR RECREATION BEHAVIOUR

Interview participants provided details about the outdoor and wilderness-oriented recreation activities they engaged in between the summers of 2000 and 2002. The sample represented a wide variation in levels of participation in recreation activities.

5.2.1 General outdoor recreation activity participation

To ensure that low participation in wilderness-oriented recreation activities was not simply due to overall inactivity in the outdoors, respondents were asked to consider how frequently in an average year they participate in popular outdoor recreation activities[22]. All respondents participated in at least seven different activities. Table 5.3 indicates that the five most popular activities across all acculturation groups (i.e. the activities that the *fewest* respondents reported never participating in at least once per year) were: going to the beach, going on picnics, sightseeing / viewing landscapes, driving for pleasure, and walking for pleasure. These top five results are consistent with the general Lower Mainland population's outdoor recreation preferences (Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific, 1994).

[22] These activities were reported by the Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific (1994) to be the 18 most popular outdoor recreation activities in the Lower Mainland. There were a total of 36 activities on the list.

Distinct patterns arise when examining the popularity of activities and comparing the participation rates between high and low mainstream groups. Low mainstream groups reported more instances of never participating in the listed outdoor recreation activities. In cases of low to moderate levels of activity (participating one to 10 times per year), low mainstream groups generally had higher participation rates in the activities that were more popular across all groups. Conversely, high mainstream groups had higher participation rates in the activities that were less popular across all groups. Where levels of activity were moderate to high (10 to 20 times per year), no discernible pattern emerged. Due to the limited number of respondents (N=51), a chi-square statistic could not be calculated for this data distribution.

TABLE 5.3: PARTICIPATION RATES IN THE 18 MOST POPULAR OUTDOOR RECREATION ACTIVITIES IN THE LOWER MAINLAND◆

	Participate 0 times per year			Participate 1 to 10 times per year			Participate 10 to 20 times per year		
	% All	% HM*	% LM+	% All	% HM	% LM	% All	% HM	% LM
Going to the beach	2	0	4	70	77	63	28	23	33
Going on picnics	4	4	4	77	69	85	19	27	12
Sightseeing / viewing landscapes	6	4	8	70	73	67	24	23	25
Driving for pleasure	8	8	8	45	38	52	47	54	40
Walking for pleasure	10	12	8	33	27	40	57	62	52
Hiking	16	23	12	67	62	72	17	15	16
Playing outdoor field sports	22	15	28	47	42	52	31	42	20
Jogging	27	31	24	29	35	52	44	35	24
Bicycling on roads	35	37	31	37	48	27	28	15	42
Going for nature studies/ appreciation	36	28	44	52	64	40	12	8	16
Bicycling on trails	43	37	48	42	44	24	15	19	28
Swimming in outdoor pools	44	28	60	48	64	32	8	8	8
Camping with a car, RV or motorhome	45	44	48	55	56	52	0	0	0
Viewing wildlife	47	40	54	33	48	19	20	12	27
Downhill skiing or snowboarding	51	46	56	31	42	20	18	12	24
Swimming in oceans, lakes or rivers	51	38	64	45	58	32	4	4	4
Golfing	57	40	75	37	48	25	6	12	0
Freshwater fishing	65	77	52	31	19	44	4	4	4

◆ 18 most popular activities as reported by Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific (1994)
* High mainstream groups
\+ Low mainstream groups

Respondents also mentioned participating in a number of outdoor activities that are not included in the above list. These include court sports, winter activities (e.g. snow play, snowshoeing, sledding), highly backcountry-oriented activities (e.g. hike-in camping, overland trekking), and water activities, with the latter of particular prominence. Almost one-third of all respondents reported participating in kayaking, canoeing, white water rafting, and/or dragon boating at least one time per year over the last two years[23]. Twelve percent were avid participants and engaged in the activity at least 10 to over 20 times.

5.2.2 Extent and pattern of visitation to wilderness-oriented parks

The number of visits[24] that respondents made to wilderness-oriented parks in BC between the summers of 2000 and 2002 ranged between zero and 128. The average number of visits was 16.4, and the median 11.0. Seven respondents reported not taking any trips during this time[25]. Of those, two were from the HMHC group and five were from the two low mainstream groups. All respondents in the HMLC group visited a wilderness area. Reasons for non-visitation varied among the seven individuals. The HMHC individuals cited only time constraints. Low mainstream individuals, most of whom are recent immigrants, mentioned time constraints as well as other reasons. Access was an issue for one respondent who arrived to Vancouver within the past year and did not yet own a car. Two respondents felt constrained by finances. With gross personal incomes below $15,000 per year, neither felt they could afford to spend money on recreation. Two individuals wanted to visit a wilderness-oriented park with the company of another family. Having only a limited social circle in a new country, they could not find others for the trip and thus did not go. It was noted, however, that three of the seven individuals have visited a wilderness-oriented park in BC outside of the two-year time frame. The remaining four individuals, though they have never experienced BC wilderness, report that they have thought about going.

Table 5.4 shows that the 44 respondents who have visited wilderness-oriented parks in British Columbia within the two-year time period went to a total of 77 different areas. The total number

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[23] Court sports, the aforementioned winter activities, white water rafting, and dragon boating were not among the 36 most popular outdoor recreation activities in the Lower Mainland, as reported by Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific (1994). Backpacking (hike-in camping/overland trekking) ranked 27th. Canoeing/kayaking ranked 20th.

[24] "Visit" refers to any trip to a park with the expressed purpose of engaging in a park activity (e.g. scenic viewing, walking, mountain biking, backcountry camping), regardless of duration of stay.

[25] It was noted that two of these seven respondents had been in Canada for only one year – half the time of the two-year reference period.

of quantifiable visits[26] amounted to 834. Each park thus received an average of 10.8 visits. Further analysis of data collected revealed five general trends:

1. High mainstream groups visited a greater variety of parks than low mainstream groups. As further detailed in Table 5.4, the HMLC group visited the most parks, with 35 different areas recorded. The HMHC group visited 31 different parks, the LMLC group 43 parks, and the LMHC 29 parks.

2. High mainstream groups went to parks more often than low mainstream groups (i.e. had a higher total quantifiable number of visits to parks). Table 5.4 also shows that the HMLC group had the highest total number of visits to parks (268), whereas the LMHC group had the fewest (156). The HMHC and LMLC groups were in between with 170 and 240 visits respectively.

3. High mainstream groups went to each park more frequently than low mainstream groups (i.e. had a higher average number of visits to each park). By dividing the total number of parks visited with the total quantifiable number of visits, it is evident that the HMLC group visited each park more frequently as compared to the other groups. On average, the HMLC group visited each park 7.6 times, as opposed to roughly 5.5 times, as with the remaining three groups.

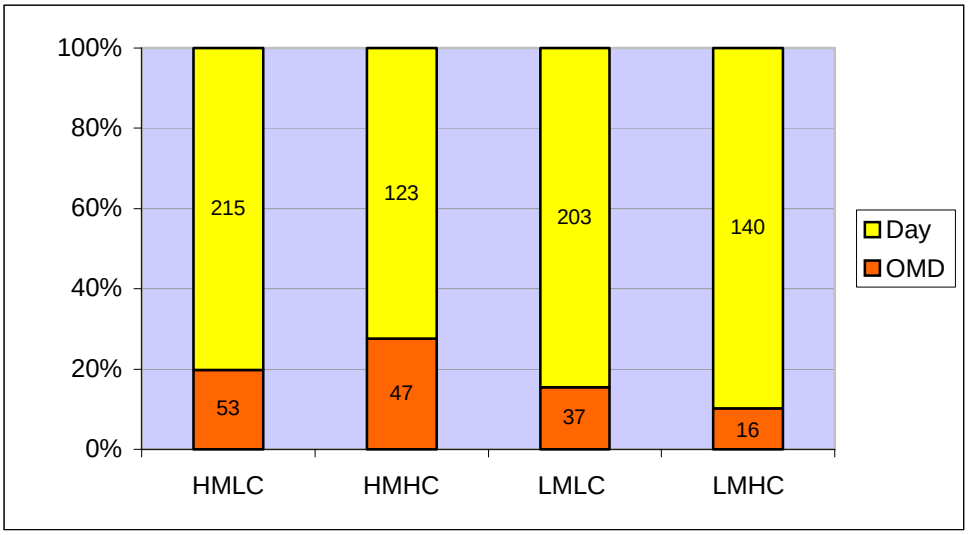
TABLE 5.4: EXTENT AND PATTERN OF PARK VISITS

	HMLC	HMHC	LMLC[27]	LMHC	Total
Total # of parks visited	35	31	43	29	77
Total quantifiable # of visits	268	170	240	156	834
Average # of visits per park	7.6	5.5	5.6	5.4	10.8

[26] Some respondents provided a qualitative response when asked how many times they visited a park (e.g. “a couple times”, “quite often”, “had a seasons pass”). In these cases, the researcher counted this as only one visit. Thus, in actuality, the total and average number of visits is higher.
[27] It is noted that the LMLC “spike” is largely attributed to one individual, who reported 128 visits to 21 different parks. Excluding this individual from analysis would result in the following numbers for the LMLC group: 34 parks visited; 112 total quantifiable visits; 3.3 average visits per park.

4. High mainstream groups had more overnight or multi-day trips in proportion to total trips compared to low mainstream groups. Figure 5.2 indicates that overnight or multi-day (OMD) trips constituted 20% of total trips for the HMLC group, 28% for the HMHC group, 15% for the LMLC group, and 10% for the LMHC group. The probability that this distribution occurred by chance was less than 0.0004. That is, acculturation significantly affects the likelihood of staying in a park for one or more nights. It is noted that that one individual in the LMLC group accounted for 25 of the 37 OMD trips. If this individual is excluded from the final calculation, OMD trips constitute only five percent of the LMLC's total trips. Similarly, two people in the LMHC group accounted for 13 of the16 OMD trips. Excluding these two individuals from the final calculation would result in only two percent of all LMHC trips being OMD in nature.

FIGURE 5.2: OVERNIGHT OR MULTI-DAY (OMD) VISITS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VISITS TO PARKS (P= 0.0004)



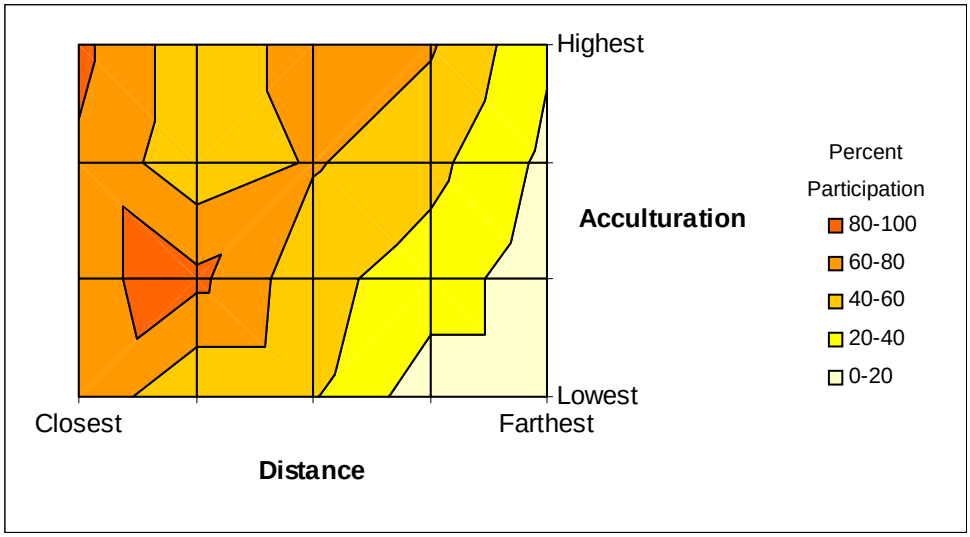
5. High mainstream groups ventured farther away from the city to visit parks compared to low mainstream groups. The columns in Table 5.5 indicate that visitation to parks generally decreased with the park's increased distance from the city. This is true across all groups. Examining the rows in the table yields another general pattern: visitation to parks in any one region also increased as level of acculturation increased. Thus, higher levels of acculturation were associated with more frequent visits to parks that are farther from the city. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 5.3.

TABLE 5.5: PERCENTAGE OF SUBGROUP THAT HAS VISITED AT LEAST ONE PARK IN THE REGION

Region	Distance From City in Hours	HMLC (N=13)	HMHC (N=13)	LMLC (N=13)	LMHC (N=12)
Lower Mainland	1 to 1.5	85	77	77	75
Fraser Valley / Hope / Skagit	1.5 to 3*	46	46	85	42
Squamish / Whistler / Garibaldi	1.5 to 3*	69	62	46	42
Vancouver Island	> 3	62	46	31	8
Interior / Northern / Southeastern BC	> 6	23	15	8	8

* While parks in the both the Fraser Valley/Hope/Skagit and the Squamish/Whistler/Garibaldi regions can be accessed within 1.5 to 3 hours, the latter may be perceived as being further from the city. Access to this region is via the two-lane Highway 99, which is narrow and winding in nature and often treacherous in winter.

FIGURE 5.3: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISTANCE OF PARK, LEVEL OF ACCULTUATION, AND PARTICIPATION



5.2.3 Demographics and extent of park visits

Chi-square statistics were calculated on 10 demographic variables to determine their effect on the extent of park visits. The researcher found four variables with a significant effect on the number of park visits. These are:

- Income*[28] (P=0.006812; Under $15,000 or above $15,000)
- Age at immigration (P=0.003271; Local born, 18 and under, or 19 and over)
- Place of birth (P=0.000356; Canada or outside Canada)
- Percentage of life in Canada (P=0.023787; 0 to 33%, 34 to 67%, 68 to 100%)

Six variables appeared to have no significant effect on the number of park visits: gender, age, household composition*, education*, language of interview, acculturation group.

The implications of these calculations are discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

5.2.4 Nature of visitation to wilderness-oriented parks

Respondents were asked to report the activities they engaged in during their park visits. On average, they participated in 5.4 different activities, with the high mainstream average slightly above the low mainstream average (5.7 vs. 5.1). Across all groups, ten main types of activities drew people to visit the parks (Table 5.6).

TABLE 5.6: TOP TEN ACTIVITIES THAT DREW PARTICIPANTS TO WILDERNESS-ORIENTED PARKS

Ranking	Activity / Reason for visiting	Total # of responses	# HM	# LM
1	Water-based activities such as canoeing, kayaking and swimming	39	23	16
2	Camping	33	21	12
3	Picnicking, barbecueing, and potlucking	30	12	18
4	Walking / exercising	29	15	14
5	Hiking	28	23	5
6	Non-consumptive leisure activities such as scenic viewing and bird watching	24	6	18

[28] Socio-demographic variables marked with an asterisk (*) had their original categories (i.e. those listed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2) collapsed into two broader categories for chi square analysis. This was necessary to ensure an adequate number of participants within each category for reliable analysis. Income categories were collapsed to “under $15,000” or “above $15,000”. Categories for household composition were collapsed into “living in household with children under 18” and “living in household with no children”. Education categories were collapsed into “college/university degree holder” and “non-degree holder”.

TABLE 5.6 CONT'D

7	Transport-oriented recreation activities such as scenic driving, mountain biking and horse riding	21	13	8
8	Tourism-oriented activities such as visiting other local attractions in the area	20	8	12
9	Winter activities such as skiing and snowboarding	14	9	5
10	Socialising and bonding	9	4	5

The two high mainstream groups had a higher participation rate for activities that are more physically demanding (items 1, 2, 5, 7, 9). It was noted that they also had a higher participation rate in hard-adventure activities or activities that can only take place in very remote settings (e.g. rafting, diving, multi-day hiking or bike-in camping). Generally, higher levels of acculturation were associated with increased frequency of participation in these activities. While analysis revealed that the two low-mainstream groups combined had a higher participation rate for more passive activities (items 3, 6, 8, 10), the relationship between acculturation and participation in these activities was not as distinct. It was noted that a few individuals in the low mainstream groups also listed non-traditional park activities such as dancing and karaoke as motivations for visiting the park. All four acculturation groups participated equally in walking and exercising.

Respondents were also asked to imagine themselves in an area of wilderness where they feel comfortable and to describe the activities they would engage in. The purpose of this question was to determine whether being in an "ideal" wilderness setting would affect recreation choice. Respondents' hypothetical behaviours were akin to their actual ones. The most popular activities across all groups, were non-consumptive leisure activities (e.g. nature / scenic appreciation and photography), water-based recreational activities and sports, hiking, walking / exploring, and rest and relaxation. Hiking, rest and relaxation, canoeing and kayaking, camping and hard adventure activities (e.g. mountain biking and going off trail) were significantly more popular among high mainstream respondents. Low mainstream groups mentioned reflection and picnicking more often than their high mainstream counterparts.

It is evident that camping was more popular among high mainstream individuals during actual park visits as well as in hypothetical situations. However, this was not the case when

respondents were directly asked whether they would consider going camping for a holiday trip. Eighty percent of all respondents claimed they would, with an even split between high mainstream and low mainstream groups. High mainstream respondents thought that camping was a relatively easy trip to plan. They also mentioned that they enjoy spending time in a natural setting or in wilderness. The reasons lower mainstream respondents provided were more varied. Among the most frequently cited reasons were getting away from city life, seeing nature and experiencing its beauty, and relaxing and resting. There was also an even split between high mainstream and low mainstream groups among the 20% who would not consider camping during their holidays. High mainstream respondents cited other vacation preferences or previous bad camping experiences (e.g. rain, too many mosquitoes; see also Section 5.5) as reasons for not going, whereas low mainstream respondents mentioned discomfort, inconvenience, and concerns about safety and security. It was noted that among those respondents who would consider camping for a holiday trip, only one-third would select it as their first choice for a vacation, with the results skewed towards low mainstream groups. For most respondents, camping opportunities were considered too close by and the trip itself too short to be considered a true vacation.

5.2.5 Social patterns of use

Individuals who visited wilderness-oriented parks were typically in the company of friends and family, regardless of their acculturation level (Table 5.7). However, closely examining high and low mainstream groups separately yielded some interesting results. While almost an equal proportion of high mainstream and low mainstream individuals reported being with friends for at least one of their visits (72% and 73% respectively), roughly one-third fewer high mainstream individuals mentioned being with family, as compared to their low mainstream counterparts (52% vs. 69%). Among high mainstream individuals, classmates (while on an official school trip) and youth groups members (while on an official outing) were tied as the third most popular form of company. However, there was a drastic drop in the percentage of respondents mentioning these – only 12% each. For low mainstream individuals, the third most popular form of company to parks was overseas or out-of-town visitors, which 27% mentioned. It is noted that only eight percent of high mainstream individuals mentioned this.

TABLE 5.7: MOST POPULAR FORMS OF COMPANY DURING PARK VISITS AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING BEING IN THEIR COMPANY FOR AT LEAST ONE VISIT

High Mainstream			Low Mainstream		
Ranking	Form of company	% reporting ≥1 visit with this company	Ranking	Form of company	% reporting ≥1 visit with this company
1	Friends	72	1	Friends	73
2	Family	52	2	Family	69
3	Classmates / Youth group members (tie)	12	3	Overseas or out-of town visitors	27

High mainstream groups were more likely to think that wilderness is suitable for six or fewer people. Low mainstream groups, on the other, hand tended to prefer a larger group, ranging upwards to "as many as possible" (LMHC30). Of the few individuals who thought that wilderness is not suitable for social activities, the majority were low mainstream.

5.3 SIX FINDINGS WITH VARIATIONS BETWEEN HIGH MAINSTREAM & LOW MAINSTREAM RESPONSES

Data analysis revealed variations between high mainstream and low mainstream responses to six specific questions or question areas from the interview. These are: wilderness perceptions, preferred level of development, wilderness pursuits of peers, age of first encounter with wilderness-oriented activities, level of awareness, and availability of information.

5.3.1 Wilderness perceptions

Perceptions of wilderness can be gained through direct exposure to natural environments or indirect sources such as movies, television shows, books, and classroom learning (Bixler et al., 1994). To determine their perceptions of wilderness in this study, respondents were asked to describe what comes to mind when someone says the word "wilderness". Respondents from both high and low mainstream groups characterized wilderness by the presence of trees and water bodies such as lakes. They specify that the area is in a pristine state, where development and civilization are absent, and natural and scenic beauty abound. Wildlife was also mentioned by both groups, though more frequently by high mainstream individuals. While many respondents did not specify the type of wildlife they typically associate with wilderness areas, several mentioned predatory animals such as grizzly bears. One respondent mentioned

"monsters" (HMHC11). Almost one quarter of respondents mentioned a specific type of wilderness landscape. Forested landscapes were most frequently cited, both BC-type (rain)forests as well as tropical rainforests. Two respondents visualized a desert landscape and one individual mentioned grasslands.

Roughly 80% of all respondents are not frightened by the idea of wilderness and do not perceive wilderness to be an unsafe place. Even so, respondents identified a number of specific concerns and fears they have about being in a wilderness setting. Generally, high mainstream individuals were less scared and more likely to feel safe in a wilderness setting than low mainstream individuals. Fears of wildlife were of greatest concern to both high and low mainstream groups, though to a greater extent among high mainstream individuals. Bears were especially feared, with over half of all respondents mentioning fear of the animal or an attack by the animal at least once during the interview. A few low mainstream individuals also mentioned fear of tigers, lions, and killer bees, even though these dangers are not present in BC wilderness. This might reflect their inexperience with BC wilderness. Isolation and remoteness was the second most frequently cited fear about wilderness. In the event of an emergency, high and low mainstream individuals alike were concerned that they would not be able to get help:

> *It's so remote. Just in case if something happened. Let's say if I had a heart attack, or you know, accidents. I won't be as safe as if I am in the city* (HMLC07)[29].

> *In terms of unexplored wilderness, that feels very unsafe to me just 'cause it's never been…people haven't been there before right? There's no trails, there's no markers, there's no contact with the outside world* (HMHC18).

> *If you fall down a cliff or anything, there won't be medical help until later. It could be days* (LMHC24).

Crime was another major concern identified, almost exclusively among low mainstream individuals. Lurking criminals, thefts, and assaults were of greatest fears:

> *We have heard more and more from friends that robbery occurs in parks. We won't go to places where very few people go. For example, the park close to UBC* [Pacific Spirit Regional Park]*. We've been there once but my friend asked me not to go again because she's been robbed in that park… When we see people with scary faces, we'll starting thinking whether they will stab me with a knife or if they will take my purse. So, when we go to parks, we'll try not to carry any money* (LMLC39).

[29] It is noted that some of the quotes in this chapter have been corrected for proper English.

> *You can be attacked by the men who come out of jail who are hiding out there. You don't know. You find strange things out there, like bodies out there or something* (LMLC15).

For low mainstream individuals, unfamiliarity with wilderness and lack of wilderness survival skills was also an issue. One respondent laments:

> *I don't know how to cope… If I have to visit and stay longer than one day, I don't know how to* (LMHC14).

Another respondent echoes these sentiments:

> *[I am] afraid of being lost, that's all. Yeah, lost. And not being able to find my way back home. And then getting cold, getting thirsty. Not being able to survive* (LMHC26).

Though a large number of respondents expressed some degree of fear towards wilderness, feelings about wilderness were mostly positive. Both high and low mainstream respondents mentioned that they feel tranquil and at ease when they are in the wilderness, connected to nature, and appreciative of what it offers. They also mentioned that impressive vantage points and scenery would elicit feelings of excitement. High mainstream individuals added that excitement is also triggered when participating in activities such as mountain biking, white water rafting, and hiking. Perceived feelings of discomfort while in the wilderness (i.e. getting dirty, the lack of showers and other necessities) were minimal.

It was noted that the wilderness respondents perceive is different from the ideal wilderness that they imagine. Recognizing that some respondents may have an aversion to visiting wilderness parks, the researcher sought to determine the type of wilderness that people *would* go to. This was achieved by asking respondents to picture themselves in an area of wilderness where they feel comfortable, and then to describe it. Comparing this imagined, ideal wilderness with the respondents' perceived wilderness revealed four key differences. First, the respondents' description of the imagined wilderness was much more elaborate and romantic than their description of perceived wilderness. Respondent LMHC42 exemplifies this romantic ideal:

> *I can listen to the flowing water. It's a low whispering voice. Then, it's the sound of wind passing through leaves. The sha-sha sound is like someone telling me a story. A story from one hundred or two hundred years ago. I close my eyes and I can feel the sun shining on myself. A white cloud drifts by and covers the sun. Then the cloud drifts away. The warm sun shines on me again. The grass is like a thick carpet. It is so comfortable to touch. It's so soft and bouncing to lie on. I can smell the fragrance of the wood. It's the smell of the nature. I can listen to the birds. The squirrel will come to feed on my hand. There is nobody around. Then I recall the way that takes me home*.

Second, while respondents still characterized the imagined, ideal wilderness as pristine and natural, many also described a human presence and an element of accessibility in the area.

> *I'd have my cell phone… I see clean washrooms… I could probably see established trails, roads… I see other people* (HMHC09).

> *A lot of facilities. A lot of people would go. And there's a lot of lodging for people to stay in if they don't have a camper. Stay in the motel… campsites... there's lots of people there* (LMLC15).

Third, wildlife was still present in the imagined wilderness, but there was no reference to predatory animals. Instead, respondents mentioned birds, fish, squirrels, chipmunks, and other small, harmless animals. Fourth, as with perceived wilderness, respondents also felt at ease and tranquil in the imagined wilderness. However, there was no reference to feelings of apprehension, fear, or discomfort. Overall, there appeared to be little difference between high and low mainstream perceptions for each of these four factors

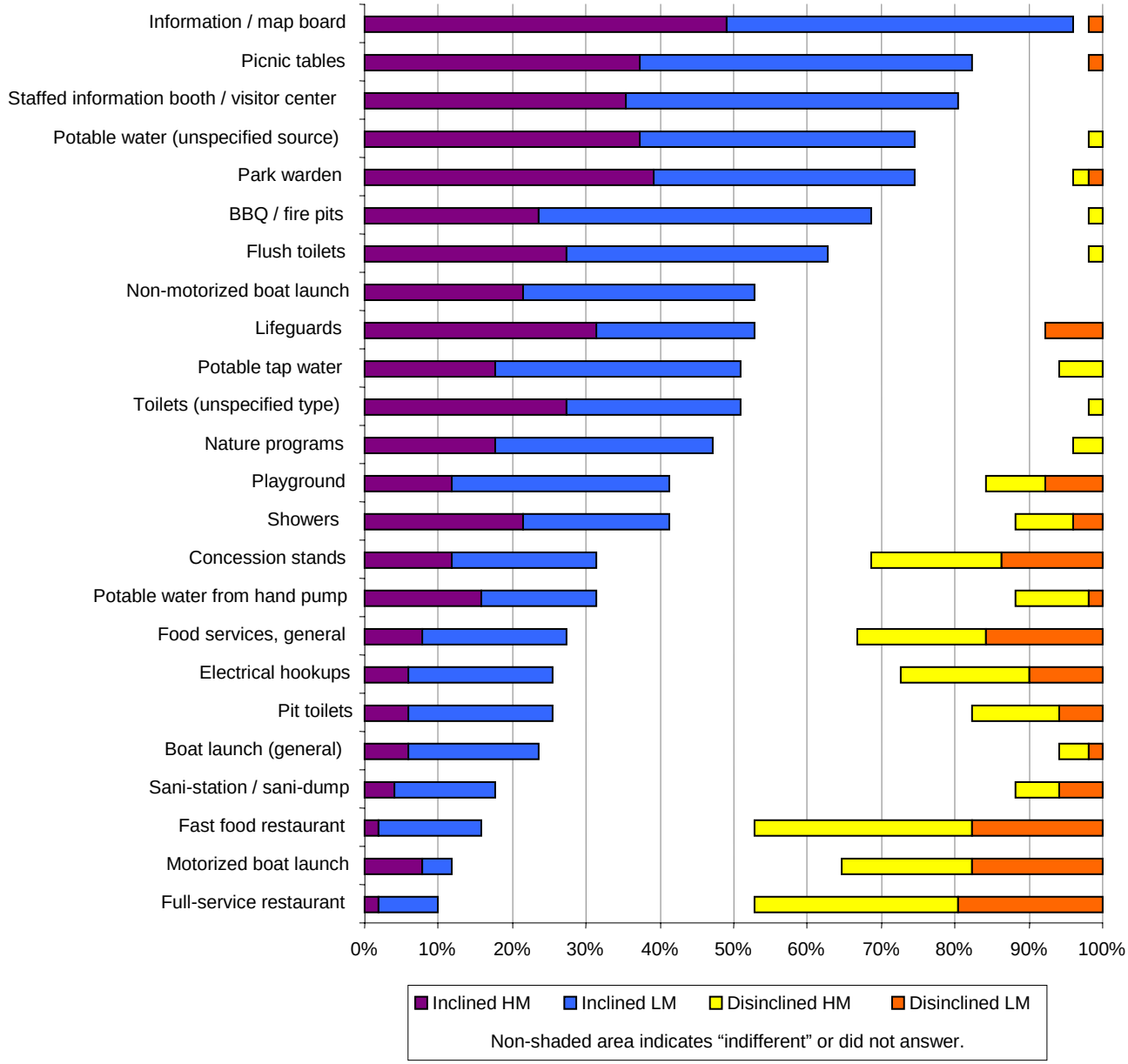
5.3.2 Level of development

It became apparent that high mainstream and low mainstream groups have different preferences for the level of development in wilderness-oriented parks. Generally, low mainstream groups had a stronger preference for facilities and services to be available in parks, and for trails to be more highly maintained and frequented, as compared to high mainstream groups. Preference patterns for accommodation were less distinct.

5.3.2.1 Park facilities and services

Figure 5.4 shows the sample's preferences for various facilities and services that can be found in wilderness-oriented parks. Information services and picnic tables are the most preferred services and facilities for both high and low mainstream groups (see also Appendix D Table D1). Potable water and park wardens are also highly desired by both groups, though many respondents indicated they would typically bring their own water to parks and that they do not necessarily need to see a park warden patrolling during their visit. However, these respondents also mentioned that knowing a park is regularly patrolled would give greater peace of mind. Low mainstream groups were generally more inclined than high mainstream groups towards most types of facilities and services, especially for BBQ / fire pits and playgrounds. Low mainstream groups were also more inclined than their mainstream counterparts towards

FIGURE 5.4: PREFERENCES FOR FACILITIES & SERVICES IN WILDERNESS-ORIENTED PARKS



potable tap water and staffed information booths or visitor centers. One respondent adds:

> *It is a multicultural society here, so I hope they can speak Chinese. It'll be much better* (LMHC08).

Nature programs were also quite desired. One recent immigrant remarked:

> *In China, the chances for going to the wilderness are little. Those places are very difficult to reach. We don't have such experience. We don't know what to look for. Like trees, we don't know what kind of trees they are. It will be quite meaningful if someone can explain about the place* (LMHC41).

The graph suggests that the sample as a whole had mixed attitudes towards the provision of food services in general and towards concession stands (see also Appendix D, Table D2). Roughly one-third of all respondents were averse to these services, claiming food establishments take away from the natural experience and that they would usually bring their own food when visiting parks anyway. Approximately 30% of the total sample preferred these services, namely for convenience, with low mainstream respondents having a stronger inclination than high mainstream individuals. The remaining respondents were indifferent.

Figure 5.4 also shows that the sample as a whole was generally indifferent towards facilities and services related to RVs and boats, pit toilets, and potable water from hand pumps (see also Appendix D, Table D3). For many high and low mainstream respondents alike, the indifference towards many of these facilities and services was largely a matter of not owning an RV or a boat. However, many low mainstream respondents were still inclined to have these facilities available, more so than their high mainstream counterparts. Motorized boat launches was an exception. With regard to this type of boat launch, several individuals from all acculturation groups expressed their dislike of this facility, citing concerns about noise, pollution, and boat wakes disrupting canoeists, kayakers and swimmers.

Several low mainstream respondents were quite enthusiastic about the availability of electrical hookups in parks, primarily for cooking and boiling water:

> *You can use… electric pot. Kettle. Electric kettle. Or even a rice cooker* (LMHC28).

> *Because there's electricity, we can even bring our rice cooker and we can bring our elements. So I can do the clams with black bean sauce and ginger and Chinese* choy sum *and* gai lan*. Just do the whole Chinese meal. Yeah!!* (LMLC14)

Though they recognized the convenience of electrical hookups, high mainstream individuals were more averse to having them in wilderness-oriented parks, claiming inappropriateness in a wilderness setting (HMHC03) and that hookups detract from the natural experience (HMHC09).

Both high and low mainstream individuals expressed an aversion towards pit toilets:

> *Germs, bacteria …* (LMLC21).

> *Pit toilet? Might as well do without. I will not go to those parks. It is too dirty. We've seen those a lot in China. The smell is too terrible* (LMHC08).

> *It's too dirty. And seems scary… I'm afraid you might be able to get dirty from the toilet* (LMLC47).

> *I really feel that pit toilets aren't well maintained. There's a lot of disease that can happen… It's just bug infested, and you just don't know what else is in there. Even if you don't open your eyes. It's not about how gruesome it is. It's about the potential disease that's infesting the place* (HMLC23).

> *Pit toilets, I've been to so many that once you open it, flies come out, and yes, it smells really bad. Plus I've heard so many awful stories about what they've found in pit toilets* (HMHC01).

In spite of these concerns, several low mainstream individuals indicated that they would still prefer using a pit toilet rather than "the bush", as with respondent LMHC02:

> *If you're out on a trail, having a pit toilet better than no toilet at all*.

Figure 5.4 indicates that the sample as a whole was averse towards only two services: full-service restaurants and fast-food restaurants (see also Appendix D, Table D4). Both were viewed as being out of place in a park setting and, to a lesser extent, damaging to the natural environment. However, it is noted that almost 30% of low mainstream individuals were still inclined to have fast-food services available.

5.3.2.2 Trails

To determine their preferred[30] level of development for park trails, respondents were given a set of five photographs of trails with different types of surfacing material and varying levels of human activity or impact. The photographs (Appendix B) were intended to show a progression from least wilderness-oriented to most wilderness-oriented. They included paved trail, gravel trail, irregular surface trail, irregular surface trail with bog crossings, and no trail. Respondents were asked to indicate at which point they would no longer feel comfortable walking or hiking along and to describe their reasoning. The sample as a whole – and low mainstream groups in particular – began to express concerns at "irregular surface trail". Concerns related primarily to terrain, safety, and things that might be lurking in the shrubbery:

> *You could twist your foot or your ankle. It's not…it's not manmade, it's rocky. You can get into an accident or something…and who knows what's behind that bush* (LMLC15).

[30] There is a large body of literature on landscape preferences. Readers can consult journals including *Landscape Research*, *Landscape Journal,* and *Journal of Environmental Psychology*.

> *I'm afraid of snakes. And spiders. [The bushes and trees are] too close. If I walk here, it's too close to my body* (LMHC30).

For high mainstream groups, concerns about trail type did not substantially emerge until "no trail". The primary concerns were getting lost or disoriented in the backcountry and their lack of wilderness orienteering skills.

> *Hikers always go lost on the North Shore when they go off trail. I feel comfortable just as long as there's a trail. Obviously with a more irregular trail, you have a feeling that you're going to an area where not everyone will go to. That's kind of nice. But…* (HMLC06).

> *No trail, it's difficult. Because you don't know where you're going… Even if you have a compass… it's difficult* (HMLC22).

Thirty percent of respondents felt comfortable with all trail types (including no trail), with almost an equal split between high and low mainstream groups. Several high mainstream individuals indicated that this comfort was due to previous experience with all trail conditions. Low mainstream individuals did not provide any reasoning for their response.

5.3.2.3 Accommodation

Photographs of different types of accommodation that can be found wilderness-oriented parks (Appendix B) were also shown to the respondents to assess their preferences for park accommodation. The six accommodation types were: resort, motel, cabin with kitchenette and plumbing, campground with full facilities (hot showers, flush toilets), campground with partial facilities (outhouses only), and tent in backcountry (no facilities). Each facility was superimposed onto the same wilderness background so that accommodation was the only variable that varied in the photo. Again, the intent was to show a progression from least to most wilderness-oriented. Respondents were asked to select the two parks they would least likely and most likely visit for three to five days, based on the type of accommodation available, and to describe their reasoning.

Over half of all respondents selected the park with only backcountry accommodation as the one they would least likely visit. This was the top response for both high and low mainstream groups, though substantially more so among low mainstream groups. Inadequate facilities, namely washrooms, were their primary concern. Whereas high mainstream groups were only concerned with the unavailability of facilities, low mainstream individuals identified other

concerns, such as lack of backcountry experience and that the area is isolated, dangerous or unsafe:

> *You really have to learn a lot of skills, you know. You almost need some sort of training. In order to prepare yourself, you need that. It's just I don't know how to survive out here* (LMLC14).

> *What if we have an accident? We don't have a cell phone… We can't find a phone nearby. And there's no washroom. And maybe there are some wild animals… bears* (LMLC47).

For 20% of the respondents, the park with the resort was the one they would least likely visit. They claimed that the resort development prevents a true wilderness experience. The four remaining parks (the ones with motel, cabin, campground with full facilities, and campground with partial facilities) each received roughly the same number of responses, mostly from high mainstream individuals. For many of these high mainstream respondents, it became apparent that they wanted either a luxurious wilderness experience or a full-on backcountry experience – nothing in between:

> *If I'm going to go to an establishment, I might as well go to the luxury over the motel. It's trying to duplicate luxury, I guess, in a Brady Bunch type of way… I might as well go for full comfort rather than haphazard* (HMLC23).

> *If I was going to camp, I would rather sleep in a tent more than a cabin. It just feels more wild…* (HMHC46).

> *I like either everything around, or I get nothing* (HMHC03).

In terms of the park that respondents would most likely visit, roughly 60% of all respondents selected the parks offering the resort, motel, or cabin. Responses were divided fairly equally between the three accommodation types. Comfort and the availability of amenities such as restaurants or cooking facilities were the main reasons for the respondents' selection. The remaining 40% selected the parks that offered some form of camping, stating that these parks offer an increased wilderness experience. When examining the sample as a whole, it was clear that a park's popularity generally decreased as it offered accommodation with fewer and fewer amenities. This pattern, however, was far less distinct when high and low mainstream groups were examined separately (Table 5.8).

TABLE 5.8: ACCOMMODATION PREFERENCE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW MAINSTREAM GROUPS

Preferred Accommodation Type	% HM (N=26)	% LM (N=25)
Resort	27%	16%
Motel	11.5%	24%
Cabin	23%	20%
Campground with full facilities	19%	24%
Campground with partial facilities	11.5%	12%
Tent in backcountry	8%	4%

Two intriguing details emerged from analysing the groups separately. High mainstream groups again suggested that they prefer either a luxurious experience or a rustic one, at least in terms of *structural* accommodation; there was a high number of responses for both resort and cabin, but a very low number for motel. When examining the comments from low mainstream individuals, it was noted that a few peoples' choices were motivated by family considerations. One individual chose the park with the motel because she typically travels with her parents who "don't want to go to a resort" because "they might not think it's worth it" (LMHC27). Another mentioned she would select the campground with full facilities primarily for her son, who enjoys camping (LMHC05). A third respondent stated:

> *Whatever I consider, I consider the children first… [The cabin] is more suitable for children…* (LMHC41).

High mainstream individuals did not mention family at all.

5.3.3 Peer pursuits and first encounters

Variations between high mainstream and low mainstream responses also emerged in regard to the wilderness recreation pursuits of the respondents' peers and the age at which respondents began wilderness-oriented activities. The question "Do any of your friends go camping?" surfaced in 34 interviews. Ninety-five percent of high mainstream individuals (N=19) stated they have friends that go camping. Only two-thirds of low mainstream individuals (N=15) could say the same. It was also evident that high mainstream individuals tended to have started wilderness-oriented activities, such as camping and hiking, at an earlier age than their low

mainstream counterparts. Table 5.9 shows that 68% of select[31] high mainstream individuals were introduced to wilderness activities by high school, and 94% by their 20s. Fifty-four percent of select low mainstream were not introduced to wilderness activities until adulthood.

TABLE 5.9: AGE AT WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE FIRST INTRODUCED TO WILDERNESS-ORIENTED ACTIVITIES

Age	% HM (N=20)	% LM (N=11)
Elementary school or earlier	42%	9%
High school	26%	36%
20s	26%	27%
30s	5%	9%
40s	0%	18%

5.3.4 Level of awareness

As mentioned above in Section 5.2.4, low mainstream individuals reported engaging in fewer activities than high mainstream individuals when visiting wilderness-oriented parks. While this might reflect a lack of low mainstream *interest* in certain recreation activities offered in parks, it might also suggest a lack of *awareness* of these opportunities. For instance, several low mainstream participants did not indicate awareness of the rock climbing opportunities in the Squamish area or the horseback riding and canoeing opportunities at Golden Ears Provincial Park. This is not to say that all high mainstream respondents were fully aware of the recreation opportunities at the parks they frequent. In fact, one high mainstream respondent (HMHC32) indicated very little knowledge of wilderness-oriented parks in general. Selected excerpts from the interview transcript illustrate this point:

32: *I could not name one wilderness park in BC and I've lived here my whole life! Can I see your map?* ((Respondent is shown maps of provincial and regional parks in the Lower Mainland)). *I haven't heard of any, not any one of them… I never even knew that Cypress [Mountain] had a park… I thought it was just a ski hill.*

K: *It's a park. Mount Seymour too.*

[31] Only respondents who reported participating in wilderness-oriented activities were asked the question "At what age were you first introduced to wilderness-oriented activities?"

32: *I had no idea…*

K: *Places like Capilano River and Lynn Headwaters, where the suspension bridges are, that's all park space.*

32: *Is it really? I had no idea. I had no clue about them.*

5.3.6 Information

"Friends and family" was the most cited source of information about wilderness-oriented parks and the primary information source for respondents with limited English language skills. Tour books and magazines, park information boards and booths, brochures, and internet websites were also popular sources of information, with over half the respondents mentioning at least one of these sources. In most cases, respondents stated that these sources were in English. Though respondents had access to information in one form or another, almost 40% of respondents felt that there is inadequate information available on wilderness-oriented parks. Most of the concerns related to the difficulties in finding information:

> *You have all these brochure stands and… you just don't see them… They're not in strategic places* (HMLC04).

> *Getting information from brochures, it's sort of restrictive. You have to make an effort to go and find it, right. And they're not readily available. It's not widely dispersed. You might go to a tourist center, I suppose… but you typically don't do that* (HMHC03).

> *I was calling different numbers, trying to find trail conditions, and I called up Chilliwack Tourism at first, and they didn't know anything about it, so they referred me to a number, which was BC Parks or regional, whatever, security, I don't know what it is. Called that person, [who] didn't know anything about it… I actually tried five, six numbers. It's quite confusing, quite frustrating I find. I just want to know the trail conditions. That's my one and only question and I spent 45 minutes on the phone. And by the time I got the right number, they were closed* (LMHC24).

Another respondent echoed the frustrations with finding information about a park when it is uncertain under which jurisdiction the park belongs, and remarked:

> *Well it would be nice if there were one office where you could get information about all the parks in BC* (HMLC31).

New immigrants with limited English skills expressed additional concerns, mostly pertaining to the lack of Chinese-language information:

> *The road sign in English is the biggest problem for me now in terms of getting to places* (LMHC08).

> *I wish there were Chinese direction maps in the park. I think it is not too difficult for the country to do it* (LMHC42).

> *At this moment I can only rely on [Chinese] newspapers. Because I just arrived, I only have a small number of friends. I have only one friend plus relatives. The source of information is little… I will go to the internet, but so far I have not found any* (LMLC43).

This respondent adds:

> *[Information in the newspaper] should have the transit route clearly indicated. I cannot ask the driver where to walk after I get off the bus because my English is not good. I cannot take a map and ask people one by one. I don't know how to ask questions about how to get to a place. So, I seldom go out* (LMLC43).

Both key informants expressed concerns over recent government cutbacks on park programs. Though the informant from SUCCESS thought that providing park information in Chinese and other languages was a good idea, he noted "we are facing a crisis situation regarding the government budget" and questioned whether the government could afford to do so (K02). The informant from the Green Club, who leads nature walks for immigrant Chinese club members states:

> *It's hard to e-mail or call staff for information and to ask them about (park) conditions… But mostly, I want to ask about plants, what kind of flowers are blooming, and are there any specific birds that are starting to come out* (K01).

Other respondents countered the suggestion that there is inadequate information on wilderness-oriented parks:

> *They have to take the initiative and look for it, and if they do look for it, it's actually pretty easy because the [provincial] parks board has lots of stuff. You could just go there and ask them, and they'll tell you... Even the visitors' centers, they'll have stuff there. And also, if you go to [Mountain Equipment] Co-op, there's the book section, maps… Outdoor stores will have maps, guidebooks* (LMHC36).

> *I think there is lots of information. And I think, you know, it's laziness on their part to seek it out… You can go to the BCAA* (British Columbia Automobile Association)*, they've got all kinds of free information. There's all kinds of websites that have information. You know, every bookstore's got information* (HMHC40)*.*

However, this respondent also notes:

> *If you're not a native English speaker or if you're not looking for information in English, then I can see that that is a problem. But you have no excuse if you're a native English speaker or reader* (HMHC40).

Lately, park agencies have made efforts to provide information about parks in languages other than English. For example, Parks Canada recently aired a 60-second long commercial on Fairchild TV, a national Cantonese television station with 26,000 subscriber households in

Vancouver (Fairchild TV, 2002, p. 21). The researcher obtained a copy of the commercial from Fairchild TV and showed it to four Cantonese-speaking interview participants[32], all of whom were classified as low mainstream. All raised concerns about the commercial's effectiveness in targeting the Chinese market. Their main criticism was that the commercial does not mention specific park names, let alone basic information about Parks Canada, such as a telephone number or website. Even if the commercial rouses the viewer's interest, finding more information on the parks shown could be difficult. Another respondent pointed out that pristine images of parks are striking, but exclusive use of such images might deter those seeking a more "developed" wilderness experience from visiting National Parks:

> *[I need] statistics on how many visitors visited the [park on the commercial]. I hope the place I visit is not a wilderness. I am not an explorer. Even when playing, I think more people will make the place happier… [I] question whether the facilities are really that complete and if they are suitable for me at all.* (LMLC43).

The actors on the commercial did not mirror the demographics of Canada. The commercial featured eight fairly close-range shots of the recreationists, close enough such that viewers could discern the race of the actors[33]. All appeared to be Caucasian. One respondent remarked:

> *If I saw Chinese going with the whole family [on the commercial], I might try to go. It makes a big difference… I would feel that since other Chinese are going, I would also go there* (LMLC43).

This comment suggests that the respondent might perceive park spaces to be predominantly "white" and would feel uncomfortable if there are no other Chinese families around. The issue of family was also raised in a different context by respondent LMHC41, who noted that the activities shown on the commercial are not appropriate for her children or elderly parents:

> *The [activities are] suitable for people aged 18 to 30. For me, I have to take my kids… So, I would be more interested to see information related to activities for small kids. Then I would be really interested in going. The places shown in the video, I would not be able to go even if I want to because of the child. Also, if I want to bring my parents. There are places shown that are not suitable for the elderly*.

5.4 RESPONDENTS' PERSPECTIVES

This section presents additional themes that emerged from the interviews. Respondents themselves suggested a number of reasons why Chinese people might be less inclined to

[32] The video was obtained after the three other Cantonese-language interviews were already completed.

participate in wilderness-oriented activities. Some of these reasons are fairly straightforward and thus only briefly addressed. Others were more subtle and complex and warranted a more careful investigation.

5.4.1 Practical reasons for non-participation

Respondents identified a number of practical reasons for not participating in certain wilderness-oriented recreation activities, even though they were aware that the opportunities existed and that they wanted to participate. Unsuitability of certain activities for other family members was the primary reason for non-participation. For instance, one respondent stated that activities such as fishing, swimming, and kayaking are "difficult to do at this time with a six year old and a toddler" in tow (HMLC50). Another respondent mentioned that certain activities are not suitable for his elderly parents (LMHC30). Safety was another major issue, particular for activities such as rock climbing or mountaineering. The lack of skills and no access to equipment were other key reasons for non-participation. Activities such as rock climbing, kayaking, canoeing, and mountain biking require a certain degree of skill for the activity to be enjoyable, in addition to specialized equipment. For those who do have access to equipment, sometimes it was an issue of not wanting to "drag all the equipment out" (HMHC03). Finally, lack of time was another factor in non-participation. Some participants did not have enough time during a specific trip for a certain activity, while others felt they did not have enough time in general to even take a trip to a park.

5.4.2 The subtleties

A number of more subtle themes also emerged from data analysis. These themes were grouped into four broad categories: perspectives of immigrants who arrived in the 1970s, Chinese youth, recent immigrants, and the sample in general. This is just one way of classifying themes, and the groups also overlap. For instance, a respondent could be an immigrant youth. Results were classified in such a manner to yield the salient results.

5.4.2.1 Perspectives of 1970s immigrants

Several respondents in this category suggested that traditional Chinese women desire fair complexions. Dark skin is frowned upon and can be prevented by avoiding the sun, which

[33] There were four additional shots of recreationists in the commercial, but the race of the actors was not discernable because they were all small, silhouette figures. Granted, there was a silhouette of a person doing Tai Chi, but this amounted to no more than one second of the 60-second commercial.

might affect participation rates in outdoor activities. One respondent recalls how her friend's mother was upset with her granddaughter's tanned skin.

> *She said, "she can't get dark! It's not good for a girl to be dark"* (HMHC19).

The respondent continues:

> *I grew up like that too... We always went swimming at the local park. I was always called… look you're so dark, almost like a Native Indian girl… I know a lot of people how they comment on a girl is how fair their skin is…* (HMHC19).

To protect their skin on sunny days, many Chinese women in Vancouver wear long sleeves and use umbrellas or avoid the sun altogether:

> *The little ladies with the umbrellas, you see it all the time here… Talking to my other friends who aren't married, they wouldn't go out in [sunny] weather. Oh God no! They don't want to ruin their skin, so they don't want to go to parks* (HMLC13).

To some traditional Chinese, wilderness has stigmatic associations with the rural, impoverished countryside in China, as detailed in Chapter 3. Those who have experienced this poverty – either first-hand or indirectly – might be less inclined to recreate in wilderness after arriving in Canada. After all, striving to improve one's lifestyle is a motivating factor for immigrating to a new country. Several respondents acknowledged these sentiments:

> *[Immigrants] want to get to the city life not to the country life. They come from a country life already. They don't want to go back to the wilderness* (LMLC15).

> *Why Chinese people don't like camping goes back to the farmer days. People think the village and the countryside, it's poor and dirty* (HMHC01).

> *To them, it's an embarrassing reminder of their roots, you know. It just reinforces the fact that they are a generation from the field* (LMLC17).

In regard to camping, stories and myths might be a reason why traditional Chinese not only are less inclined to camp but also discourage the younger generation from doing so as well. One respondent spoke of her mother's recollection of the Sino-Japanese War:

> *During the Japanese war in China, [the Chinese] had to hide in the forest or the mountains, where they can hide from the Japanese. They had to sleep on the ground. They tell you that experience was horrible and uncomfortable. They get sick from the rain or sleeping on the ground if it's wet. So for example, when I say I'm going camping, they think that if I'm sleeping on the ground, I might get arthritis. These myths that they have…* (HMHC11).

The myth of getting arthritis from sleeping on damp ground is apparently a popular one. Respondent HMLC13 rolls her eyes and says:

You get arthritis. Yeah, I've so *heard that one*.

A few respondents alluded to their need for a proper Chinese meal, which would be difficult to prepare in an undeveloped, highly wilderness-oriented park. For instance, one respondent reported that she has experienced and quite enjoys camping, but prefers campgrounds with electrical hookups:

> *My husband is very Chinese… three or four days of hamburgers [cooked over a fire] just wouldn't work for him. We like the campground in Gibson because of the electricity, because then we can bring our rice cooker… Chinese people, our diet and how we prepare foods is very important. So that was very important to him, to have a rice cooker and be able to prepare, steam the fish the Chinese way with soy sauce* (LMLC14).

Another respondent stated that he and his wife have similar sentiments:

> *Food is a consideration. Usually you BBQ or eat sandwiches during camping… Homemade [Chinese] food is more suitable for me* (LMLC38).

5.4.2.2 Youth perspectives

Several respondents identified two virtues of traditional Chinese parents that may act as barriers to participation among youths: high levels of protectiveness and emphasis on academic achievement. Female respondents, in particular, spoke of their overprotective parents. One respondent mentioned that even when she was just "car camping", her parents still expected a phone call home (HMLC31). Another respondent stated:

> *My parents are very, very traditional. They're not even the nouveau Chinese type of parents. They're* very *traditional and they're just so against [camping]… They think it's dirty, dangerous 'cause you don't have a house to lock yourself into… they think that you're going to get sick. All that stuff* (HMLC23).

A third respondent hesitated telling her mother about plans she had for her young son:

> *When he's older, he can go white water rafting. We haven't told my mother about that one… We'd love to take him skiing too. I haven't told my mother that one either* (HMLC13).

Perhaps the comment jokingly made by a male respondent best summarizes the protective nature of traditional parents:

> *They think outdoor activities might be unsafe… You could get killed, you could die!* (HMLC20).

As detailed in Chapter 3, traditional Chinese parents exert massive pressure on their children to excel in school and keep extracurricular activities to a minimum (Bond, 1991; Lew, 1998). Several respondents attested to these pressures. One younger respondent remarked:

> *Chinese parents tend to focus on… geez, you need to study hard and get a good job! I guess they value one thing more than the other* (HMHC48).

Another respondent, a teacher, offered the following comment about Vancouver's mini school programs[34]**:**

> *There are a lot of [Chinese] parents who, for some reason… It's been made very clear to them that when [their kids] are accepted into the mini school program, that they will be required to go on camping trips and these outdoor activities. But, once the kids get in, there's… at least a few parents who try to – I don't want to say stop – but… try to say that they really don't want their kid to go on the trip* (HMLC20).

The respondent continues:

> *My feeling just from talking to parents when they come into for parent-teacher interviews, sometimes they think a lot of recreational activities are exactly that, just for fun, and if you go overboard on some of those things, it's almost a waste of time. Like you could be studying instead of going camping that weekend… You'd be doing something more useful with your time than sleeping in a tent and hiking in the middle of the forest* (HMLC20).

The key informant from SUCCESS, originally a social worker from Hong Kong, echoes these remarks:

> *That's very true that the parents are very, very eager to push their kids to spend more time on academic work... tutorial class or piano class or Chinese school. The Chinese culture or the Chinese mentality has always had the belief that only academic work can secure one's future career. If you succeed in academic work… it can safeguard your career, safeguard your income and future… In China or even in Hong Kong, social security is not as good as all those North American or European countries. So the parents have to believe that I, myself, if I get a good profession, I can safeguard my future life. I cannot rely on the government or rely on the community. I have to earn myself. Most of them have this belief* (K02).

5.4.2.3 Perspectives of recent immigrants

Results from qualitative data analysis suggest that work is the priority for Chinese adults as school is for Chinese youth. Almost one-quarter of respondents suggested that work takes precedence over recreation. Prioritizing work is especially important for new immigrants, who are concerned with making a living and surviving in a new country, let alone succeeding.

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[34] Mini school programs offer accelerated and in-depth study as well as learning outside the classroom, often through outdoor recreation activities.

Several younger respondents mentioned that their immigrant parents are "workaholics" (HMLC04), "work over 10 hours per day, six or seven days a week" (HMHC49), or cannot take time off from their work (LMHC27). Recent immigrants themselves remarked:

> *Chinese, they work one or more jobs. No time to participate in activities* (LMHC02).

> *All we can have is one or two days holiday. A long holiday is only for the local* (Canadian) *people. For us, although we would like a long holiday, it is just not possible* (LMHC42).

Immigrants from Hong Kong also attribute under-participation in wilderness-oriented activities to the lack of wilderness space in the city:

> *Typically in Hong Kong, you see a lot more concrete than you do grass, right. When you head out for a park, you're going to another concrete slab* (HMHC03).

> *I think with Chinese, even Asian people, they're grown up in a place where it's crowded. It's all buildings. You don't see the sky much. Remember in Hong Kong, it's all buildings* (LMHC27).

> *Although there are quite a lot of Chinese here [in Vancouver], they are not used to those kinds of activities. Mainly, I think, for myself, I come from Hong Kong, which is a congested area. We do not have that kind of habit* (LMHC28).

Where outdoor opportunities do exist, they can occur in highly modified settings. One respondent recalls going "camping" during grade school in Hong Kong. Accommodation consisted of "rows and rows" of beds, while camp activities included barbecuing, playing tennis, swimming in an indoor pool, and other indoor activities. She muses, "It's odd when you have to go camping and you have to do indoor activities" (HMHC49). Another respondent recalls going on multi-family camping trips to Shanghai when she was young:

> *It was a tourist place where there was lots of cabins. And outside there would be a barbecue place. It's for families... From when I was young until I was nine, before we immigrated here, we went every year, to different cabins… We don't live in tents* (LMHC27).

This is not to say that "real" camping opportunities are not available in Asia. Respondents from both Hong Kong and Taiwan pointed out that tracts of hilly wilderness do exist outside of urban centers (LMHC30; LMHC36) and that there are people who camp in non-designated areas (LMHC33; HMHC46). However, the community of thriving wilderness recreationists in Hong Kong and Taiwan likely does not compare to that in Canada.

For some immigrants, under-participation in wilderness activities might also be a matter of cultural resistance. If wilderness recreation is deemed a "Canadian activity", new immigrants who feel very strongly about their Chinese heritage might not want to take part. One respondent, who resides in suburban Richmond, where almost 40% of residents are of Chinese descent (Statistics Canada, 2001c), claims he rarely sees Chinese people frequenting local parks:

> *I guess it's because hey, let's go to Parker Place or Alexandra Road* (Chinese shopping malls) *where all of the Chinese people are hanging out… I guess it's okay to maintain your Chinese culture by going to Chinese places. But I guess they're not willing to adapt to lifestyle that is here* (HMHC48).

Respondent LMLC34, a second generation Canadian, shares similar views:

> *Often Chinese, you come to Canada and think of it as a temporary home. And they try to avoid being North Americanized. Our family didn't think we were going to go back to China. This was going to be our home… and [so we] adopted a North American lifestyle.*

It is also evident that cultural differences as to what constitutes recreation and leisure have an effect on outdoor recreation behaviour. Respondents revealed that middle-aged, recent immigrants as well as older, long-established immigrants who have retained a high degree of Chinese culture tend not to prefer outdoor recreation as a leisure activity:

> *I have a lot of Hong Kong clients and friends. As immigrants, they would rather go shopping and eating, movies, more of an urban experience* (LMLC37).

> *The older people, like my mom, she doesn't like to go to parks. She likes to go window shopping or dim sum or just for a nice dinner. So that'll occupy quite a bit of time already. And then, there's the TV. Chinese Pay TV is not helping us to get out either* (LMLC14).

Some recent immigrant youth have similar leisure preferences. One respondent commented:

> *If I hang out with my friends, it's typically Chinese friends. We'd rather do other things like play mah jong or karaoke, stuff like that… We shop a lot. TV and internet games.* (HMHC48).

While the key informant from SUCCESS agrees that these are among the primary leisure activities of his youth group members (aged 16 to 25), he notes that outdoor recreation activities are quite popular as well. In addition to planning karaoke nights, scavenger hunts, and parties for Halloween, Chinese New Year, birthdays, etc., the youths also organize events in park settings, such as day hikes, barbecues, one-day rafting trips and multi-day leadership camps. Between June and August, youth group members typically plan three to four such events, in

which 30 to 70 members participate. However, with regard to the camping trips, the informant notes:

> *We won't go to those campgrounds that don't have showers. We arrange for campgrounds with showers. Especially warm water showers… [And] up to now, all the campgrounds we've been to have been equipped with flush toilets, so [the youths] won't have any complaints* (K02).

5.4.2.4 General perspectives

Immigrant youths were not the only ones who prefer a more "sanitized" wilderness experience. There were a number of individuals from all age and acculturation groups that indicated they were simply used to the comfort, convenience, and cleanliness typically found in the urban environment. One respondent jokingly remarks:

> *Perhaps the Chinese culture being several thousand years older, have realized that staying in a hotel or motel is more comfortable and convenient than camping!* (HMLC50, age 39).

Others stated:

> *My friends and relatives like cleanliness. They like resorts like Banff and Jasper. They're close enough to the smell of wilderness, but don't have to do the hard labour. They don't want to be burned by the sun, no wild animals, no dirt* (HMHC01, age 39).

> *If you're used to a certain civilized way of life, to lose those amenities that you take for granted like hot and cold running water, flush toilet… To take those away is to take away your enjoyment* (HMHC40, age 49).

> *Obviously, you're going to get dirty [in the wilderness], 'cause there's dirt, and no, you're not sleeping in a house, but that's fine… But I can't just do my… just go to the washroom in the wilderness* (LMHC27, age 19).

Several respondents hinted that the tendency of Chinese people to be clannish might deter them from visiting parks, which they view predominantly as "white" spaces. The key informant from SUCCESS states:

> *Some Chinese might be scared. They have the… pre-thinking that they will be discriminated against. It's not the problem of other ethnic groups, but Chinese themselves. They scared, probably because of the language barriers. So they want to hang around with other Chinese* (K02).

Two respondents who have observed few Chinese visitors in parks declared:

> *Chinese people are scared of… not their same ethnic group because they don't understand the other culture or ethnic group, and they're not willing to understand as well* (HMHC48).

> *[Chinese people can be] social worms, they don't know how to interact, develop relationships with other people, appreciate other cultures… I find a lot of them isolating themselves* (LMLC37).

Another respondent recognizes that clannishness is not just a Chinese characteristic, but still agrees that parks have traditionally been the domain of North Americans:

> *All ethnic groups congregate… You've got the Commercial Drive Italian side, Main Street Little India, and North Vancouver… it has so many Persian people there. Richmond has the Chinese people, and in certain parts of Vancouver. It's very, very divided around here. I think that parks have typically always been…I think it's engrained in the North American culture, right?* (HMHC18)

A few respondents noted some Chinese, particularly the *nouveau riche*, are inclined towards status-consumption and "showing off", which might deter them from seemingly "cheap" wilderness activities, such as camping, during their holidays:

> *Chinese people consider 'holiday' to be like a European holiday. It's more of a show-off thing. That's why they're not in the wilderness* (HMHC01).

> *It's more exciting to tell [others] you're going to Hong Kong or something instead of you going to a nice park* (HMLC20).

However, status consumption is not restricted to the *nouveau riche*. One respondent recalls her Canadian-born cousin's reaction when she mentioned that her family goes camping:

> *She's like, oh God, me and my kids would never go camping. I'm like why? And they say it's dirty or whatever else. Besides, wouldn't you want the comforts? The luxuries? Unless you can't afford it, why would you do it?* (HMLC23).

For other Canadian-born Chinese, "status" might involve pursuing wilderness-oriented activities rather than avoiding them. One second-generation Canadian stated:

> *There's a certain status being able to accomplish certain things when you're out in the wilderness – to go out and sustain yourself, or catch a big fish… Amongst some people, including some of my friends, their status is "I got to the highest peak"… [For my partner and me], our ultimate status is having a lot of leisure time and being able to… spend a lot of time in our yard and garden, or going out camping, and being able to kayak and enjoy some of the nice things that nature has to show for us* (LMLC34).

A few respondents could not offer any explanation for Chinese under-participation in wilderness-oriented activities such as camping, and simply said it is not part of the Chinese culture:

> *Camping just isn't seen as… something to do in the Chinese culture* (HMLC25).

> *My [Asian] friend told me that she went camping at Cultus Lake and I thought that that was really weird… Growing up, I thought that Asians aren't supposed to do that sort of thing* (HMLC35).

5.5 Bad wilderness experiences

It is worth briefly noting that 24 individuals – both high and low mainstream – have had bad experiences while visiting wilderness-oriented parks. Though not serious in nature, they did dampen enjoyment of their trips. The majority of complaints, particularly among low mainstream individuals, related to facilities and services. In many instances, respondents mentioned that there were not enough facilities or services offered in the park. For example, Respondent LMHC42 noted that there were no washrooms at the Cleveland Dam. Respondent LMHC24 mentioned she would have preferred if the information center at Manning Provincial Park had not been closed for the season at the time of her visit. Crowded conditions in parks, particularly in campgrounds, was the primary complaint among high mainstream individuals. As one respondent aptly states:

> *Provincial campsites on a long weekend are packed... You're rubbing elbows with the people who are right next to you* (HMLC06).

Due to close proximity to other campers, noise becomes an issue:

> *Sasquatch [Provincial Park]… you got twenty gazillion kids screaming away* (HMLC31).

> *[Golden Ears Provincial Park] was nice, but we found later on at night, kids go there. The parents drop them off and they spend one night there. They made a lot of noise, they were screaming, yelling, running around with flashlights* (HMHC11).

Respondents from high and low mainstream groups also mentioned a few uncontrollable circumstances, such as poor weather, bugs and mosquitoes, and getting sick, that partly spoiled their visits.

Respondents were not necessarily deterred from re-visiting wilderness-oriented parks after their bad experience(s). In fact, these individuals averaged 20.6 park visits over the past two years, with roughly the same average for both high and low mainstream groups. This number is slightly higher than the 19.0 average among all park goers in this study (N=44). This suggests that the bad experiences were only minor annoyances and had little effect on overall park-going behaviour.

5.6 DISCARDED QUESTIONS

Almost all interview questions designed for this study yielded rich information and insight into the wilderness-oriented recreation behaviours and preferences of the Chinese community in Greater Vancouver. One exception was Question 3a on vacation preferences. This question

was originally designed to determine whether showing off one's status was a consideration in leisure choices. As detailed in Section 3.4, some Chinese, especially the *nouveau riche*, have a strong desire to show off their social position (Chu, 1996). While this question yielded a few anecdotes that supported this claim (Section 5.4.2.4), no discernible patterns of behaviours arose. Participants' preferences for holiday destinations, types of activities they would engage in, and motivations for their choices were as varied as the participants themselves. More intensive probing might have enhanced results.

5.7 SUMMARY

Over the past two years, the 51 individuals in this study engaged in a variety of outdoor recreation and wilderness-oriented activities. These activities were largely concentrated in Lower Mainland parks, but also took place in other areas of the province. Examining high mainstream and low mainstream groups separately revealed some key differences. In general, as compared to their low mainstream counterparts, high mainstream individuals:

- Visit a greater variety of wilderness-oriented parks, visit more often, and venture further from the city to access them;
- Have a higher tendency to stay overnight;
- Engage in activities that require a higher level of physical exertion;
- Prefer being in a smaller group.

Responses to specific interview questions or question sets hinted at some of the reasons for these differences. Respondents also offered their insights on low levels of participation by the Chinese. The following chapter will draw some conclusions from the empirical work in relation to existing studies and theoretical ideas.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Drawing upon the findings in Chapter 5, this chapter addresses why the Greater Vancouver Chinese population is less inclined to visiting wilderness-oriented parks and participating in wilderness-oriented outdoor recreation activities, as compared to the general population. Qualitative analysis suggests that acculturation has an effect on park going behaviours. While Section 5.2 hints at a direct relationship, findings outlined in subsequent sections lend support to an indirect relationship, with additional factors playing a role. Results of chi square analysis add another layer of complexity. While acculturation itself did *not* appear to be a significant factor in the number of park visits respondents engaged in, three factors related to acculturation were significant. In this non-random sample, income also appeared to be a significant factor while education and gender did not. This chapter critically analyses these ideas and relates them back to existing studies and theories. It proposes strategies that may facilitate wilderness recreation participation by the Chinese community, which will hopefully be useful to park policy makers and other community agencies. The chapter concludes with a brief comment on the implications of this study for planning practice in Canada.

6.1 THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION

Academic literature (e.g. Floyd, 1999; Johnson et al., 1998; Washburne, 1978) and government studies (e.g. Dwyer, 1994; Gramann, 1996) indicate that ethnic minority groups in North America participate less in wilderness-oriented recreation than the general population. With the ethnic composition of our cities changing with continued immigration from overseas, park managers have recognized the importance of ensuring that parks meet the needs of various ethnic groups. Though Canadian research on this topic is sparse, two BC studies (i.e. BC Parks Research Services, 1991; Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific, 1994) found that Asians in Greater Vancouver participate less than the general population.

The present study shows that Chinese people in Vancouver are participating in outdoor and wilderness-oriented activities, though it is uncertain as to how their participation rates would compare to the general population, since only a Chinese sample was examined. However, results clearly indicate internal differences in park-going behaviours within the Chinese community. High mainstream individuals have a more *extensive* pattern of park use compared to low mainstream individuals. They visit a greater number of parks and are willing to travel a further distance to access them. Their behaviours are also more *intensive* in that they tend to

visit parks more often and stay longer. The results also show that whereas low mainstream individuals have an inclination to more passive outdoor activities, high mainstream individuals are attracted to more physically demanding or "hard adventure" activities. While these differences hint at a direct relationship between acculturation and park-going behaviours, other findings suggest a more complex, *indirect* relationship. Figure 6.1, which is derived from the ideas that emerged from the interviews and the literature, summarizes these direct and indirect relationships. The remainder of Section 6.1 explores each of these relationships.

6.1.1 Effects of acculturation on subcultural identity

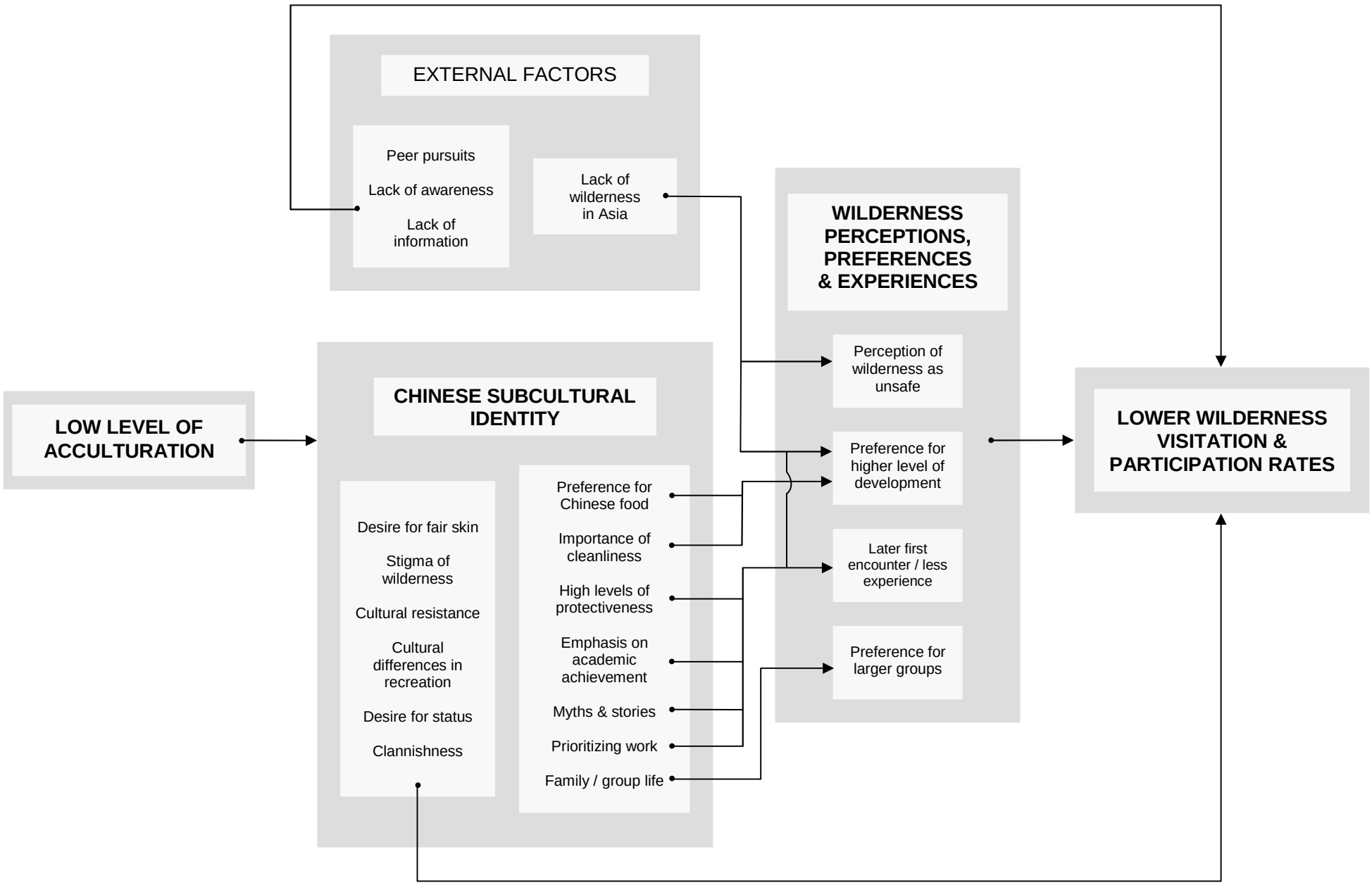
This study found that respondents with lower levels of acculturation to mainstream society tend to have a stronger Chinese subcultural identity. As such, they are more likely to exhibit traditional Chinese attributes. Many of these attributes emerged in the interviews and are supported by the literature. Traditional Chinese find fair skin desirable. Some view wilderness with disdain and recount myths and stories to the younger generation to discourage them from activities such as camping. A proper Chinese meal is important. Traditional Chinese parents tend to be highly protective of their children and strongly emphasize academic achievement. There is the need to prioritize work, particularly among new immigrants. Though some immigrants embrace a new culture upon arrival to a new country, others resist it and maintain their own forms of recreation. There is a strong desire for cleanliness, emphasis on family and group life, and a tendency to be clannish. Among the *nouveau riche*, status is important.

6.1.2 Effects on wilderness preferences, perceptions, and experiences

6.1.2.1 Subcultural identity

Figure 6.1 shows that seven of these subcultural characteristics affect respondents' preferences, perceptions, and experiences relating to wilderness. Tuan (1993) notes that for the Chinese, eating has close ties to health and medicine, and that "food preparation and consumption are considered an art" (p. 46). The desire for a proper Chinese meal might explain why some less acculturated respondents tend to prefer parks with a higher level of development. Preparing rice, Chinese vegetables, and steamed fish is easier in parks with electrical hookups and picnic tables. The importance of cleanliness might also prompt visits to more highly developed parks. While the desire for cleanliness is certainly not unique to the Chinese culture, it is noted that cleanliness is highly commended by Buddhists (de Silva, 1998). It is further noted that during the early years of the Republic of China (1911-1949) and through

FIGURE 6.1: DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS ON WILDERNESS VISITATION & PARTICIPATION RATES



to the 1940s, reformist thinkers strongly advocated personal hygiene, with the belief that it was equated with having a sense of culture. After the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949 –), hygiene campaigns were stepped up even further with the use of propaganda posters that depicted hand, body, and clothes washing. Hygiene campaigns in China continue today, directed mostly at primary and secondary school students (Landsberger, n.d.). Good personal hygiene is easier to maintain in parks and campgrounds with hand sinks and showers. Clothes and shoes are less likely to get dirty when walking on a paved or gravel trail rather than hiking along a natural surface trail. In the Chinese tradition, many parents view children as their "flesh and bones" rather than as their reflections (Lew, 1998; Tung, 2000). Thus, they are protected as the parent's own body. Ho (1986) writes that Chinese parents tend to discourage their children's "exploratory, adventurous, or risky activities" (p. 36). Lew (1998) adds:

> *Children are overprotected for safety early in life. For example, they are overclothed to prevent cold. They are not allowed to swim. Girls are not to go out alone. Both boys and girls are warned not to make bad friends. That might explain why Chinese are less adventurous than some other races* (p. 211).

Because parents are children's first authority figures, and since Chinese children are socialized to respect authority (Lew, 1998), children will likely not speak out against being "protected" from going into the dangerous wild until they are older and somewhat independent. Similarly, they may not counter their parents' beliefs of prioritizing academics at the expense of pursuing extracurricular activities nor dismiss myths and stories that discourage wilderness use until later in life. Only after new immigrants feel economically secure will they begin to consider recreation activities. Finally, Lew (1998) states that the Chinese, as compared to North Americans, are more family-oriented and collective in nature. This might explain why less acculturated individuals prefer to be with a larger group, often with extended family members, when going to a park. For instance, the key informant from the Green Club reports that the club's nature walks typically attract 15 to 30 Mandarin or Cantonese speaking participants, though numbers have been as high as 100. Most adult participants are 40 to 60 years old, and some bring their children (K01).

6.1.2.2 External factors

Figure 6.1 shows one external factor affecting respondents' preferences, perceptions, and experiences relating to wilderness-oriented parks: the lack of wilderness parks in Asian urban centers. Asian immigrants experience easier access to wilderness opportunities only after arriving in Canada. This may also contribute to their later first encounters with wilderness. Even when the opportunity exists, the lack of experience with wilderness may explain why Asian

immigrants seek out highly-developed parks, similar to the ones they are accustomed to. Further, having no real wilderness experience means that knowledge of wilderness is based largely on indirect sources, such as television (Bixler & Floyd, 1997), which can lead to the perception that wilderness is unsafe. For instance, there was extensive media coverage during summer 2002 (when the interviews were conducted) of a random assault on an Asian student who was jogging in Stanley Park. The beating left the victim with severe, permanent brain damage. Though such occurrences are rare, the story struck a cord with several respondents:

> *I don't know if you heard of the Korean girl in Stanley Park… I think for most Eastern people, Asian, Chinese, we have this fear in mind* (LMHC28).

> *Stanley Park, we used to go for walks there early on Saturday morning. However, after we heard about the robbery from the newspaper and friends, we won't go there anymore.* (LMLC39).

Media coverage on cougar attacks is also imprinted in respondents' memories. Respondent HMLC06 recalls an incident that occurred in August 1996:

> *You hear stories about families being attacked by mountain lions or bears. There was a case, I don't know if you remember a couple years ago where a mother was protecting her kid and she ended up dying*.

Another respondent spoke of a cougar attack on an eight year old girl on Vancouver Island that occurred just a few days before her interview:

> *We just heard over the weekend there was this girl attacked by a cougar!* (HMHC19).

6.1.3 Effects on lower visitation to wilderness-oriented parks

6.1.3.1 Wilderness preferences, perceptions, and experiences

Figure 6.1 shows that these particular preferences, perceptions, and experiences ultimately contribute to lower levels of visitation to wilderness-oriented parks and participation in wilderness-oriented activities. Preference for more developed parks and for socializing in larger groups would likely deter an individual from visiting a wilderness-oriented park. These parks have fewer services and facilities and may not well accommodate larger groups. Gramann (1996) reports that it is not unusual for park managers to regulate group size, "either by restricting the size of parties that can enter an area without permission, or by limiting the number of people, groups, or vehicles that are allowed to occupy a single campsite (p. 39). For example, Parks Canada has a quota of 8,000 hikers per year on the West Coast Trail in Pacific Rim National Park on Vancouver Island. Maximum group size is 10 people (Parks Canada,

2002). BC Parks allows up to eight people and one vehicle and trailer per campsite (BC Parks, 2003). Group picnic and camping sites are limited in number, and it can be difficult to reserve adjacent campsites. Perceptions of an unsafe wilderness also deters visitation. Why would individuals willingly put themselves at risk to wild animals, crime, and remoteness? Finally, Hendee, Catton, Marlow & Brockman (1968) found that wilderness values tend to develop early in life and suggest that individuals who experience wilderness activities later in life may have less commitment to wilderness use. Thus, they may choose more developed and managed park experiences.

6.1.3.2 Subcultural identity

Figure 6.1 shows six subcultural characteristics that have a direct effect on lower visitation rates. A number of respondents pointed out that being outside in a park tans your skin, which goes against the traditional virtue of a fair complexion, which is still fashionable in China and Asia today ("Fashion", n.d.). Fair skin traditionally symbolized beauty and wealth. Only workers and peasants who toiled the fields had dark skin. Thus, dark skin was associated with the lower classes. Differences in skin complexion are captured in Chinese propaganda posters produced from 1949 onwards. Figure 6.2 shows a female artist with a fair complexion and two workers with dark skin.

FIGURE 6.2: FAIR COMPLEXION OF AN ELITE ARTIST VS. DARK COMPLEXION OF WORKERS

(Source: Landsberger, n.d.)

Some individuals also noted the stigma attached to wilderness and questioned why would one spend leisure time in the traditional place of the poor. Suinn (2002) states that exposure to a new culture might lead a person to resist changing their values and behaviours. Those who strive to maintain their Chinese culture may avoid going to wilderness parks, which is seen as a "Canadian" activity, and instead, continue with their own cultural recreation interests. Among those who value status, trips or vacations to wilderness settings might be avoided due to the perception that it is cheap. Lew (1998) notes that traditional Chinese are a fragmented people that mostly associate with a few close friends and relatives, and that "there is little communication and cooperation among people outside the in-groups, except for occupational or professional necessity" (p. 129). This tendency to be clannish might discourage them from recreating in areas they perceive to be "white" spaces.

6.1.3.3 External factors

Finally, Figure 6.1 shows three external factors that appear to affect wilderness park going behaviours. The results suggest that those who are less aware of wilderness opportunities or have less access to information have greater difficulties planning a trip. Having fewer peers who pursue wilderness opportunities also appears to contribute to lower participation.

6.1.4 Implications for research

The results of this study lend some support to the *assimilation theory*, which as detailed in Chapter 2, suggests that ethnic minorities with higher levels of assimilation will have recreation patterns that are more similar to the majority population. Though this study did not seek to compare a Chinese sample with a general population control group, existing research provides a reference point from which to draw some comparisons (Table 6.1). For instance, an early survey of 1,950 wilderness users in the Pacific Northwest found that nearly 70% of respondents had their first backcountry experience before age 15 (Hendee et al., 1968). The present study found that 58% of selected[35] respondents had their first encounter with wilderness recreation in high school or earlier. Among the high mainstream individuals (N=20), the figure was 68%. Among the low mainstream individuals (N=11), the figure was 44%. A more recent survey of 1,100 respondents in the Lower Mainland found that 63% of Euro-Canadian respondents went swimming in an ocean, lake, or river at least once in the 12 months prior to the survey (Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific, 1994). This present research found that 49% of all participants had

[35] Only respondents who reported participating in wilderness-oriented activities were asked the question "At what age were you first introduced to wilderness-oriented activities?"

gone swimming at least once in the two years prior to the interviews. There was a substantial difference between high and low mainstream participation: the high mainstream participation rate was 62% percent over the two years and the low mainstream rate was only 36%. Finally, a survey of 7,700 British Columbians found that participants went on an average 17.7 trips to natural areas[36] in 1996 (FPT Task Force, 1999). The present study found that Chinese participants went an average of 16.4 trips to wilderness-oriented parks over a *two* year time period (from summer 2002 to summer 2002). Examining high mainstream and low mainstream groups separately revealed that the former group went on slightly more park trips than the latter (16.9 vs. 15.8 average visits[37]).

TABLE 6.1: COMPARISON OF SELECTED FINDINGS WITH PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Variable examined	Previous research on general population	Research on Greater Vancouver Chinese population (Hung, 2003)		
		Both HM & LM	HM only	LM only
% that experienced wilderness at early age	70% (N=1,950) before age 15 (Hendee et al., 1968)	58% (N=20) during high school or earlier	68% (N=20)	44% (N=11)
% that went swimming in ocean, lake or river	63% (N=1,100) within 12 months of the study (Rethink Group & Praxis Pacific, 1994)	49% (N=51) within 2 years of the study	62% (N=26)	36% (N=25)
Number of wilderness visits	17.7 visits to "natural areas" in 1996 (N=7,700) (FPT Task Force, 1999)	16.4 (14.2)* visits to "wilderness-oriented parks" between summers of 2002-2003	16.9 (16.8)* visits (N=26)	15.8 (11.2)* visits (N=25)

* Adjusted calculation – see footnote 38.

These findings suggest that the general population is more active in the outdoors than the Chinese population, and that high mainstream Chinese individuals are more active than their low mainstream counterparts. Thus, it can be reasonably deduced that high mainstream

[36] The survey defined natural areas as "forested areas, water bodies, wetlands, open fields or other types of areas such as a mountains or caves" (FPT Task Force, 1999, p. 9).
[37] As noted in Chapter 5 (footnote 27), one LMLC individual reported 128 park visits – over 50% of the total visits by the LMLC subgroup. Excluding this individual from the present analysis results in more apparent high mainstream / low mainstream differences: the high mainstream average is 16.8 park trips and the low mainstream average is 11.2 trips. The average across the sample is 14.2.
[38] Numbers in parentheses result from excluding the anomalous LMLC individual first reported in Chapter 5 (footnote 27) from analysis.

individuals are more similar in their outdoor recreation behaviour to the general population than low mainstream individuals are. However, this assumption should be viewed with circumspection due to the lack of comparable methodologies between earlier studies and the present one.

The results of this study also lend some support to the *ethnicity theory*. Classic studies testing the ethnicity theory compared two ethnocultural groups. If differences in recreation participation persisted after matching the groups on various socioeconomic and demographic variables, they were attributed to ethnicity. Though this study examined only the Chinese community, it is arguable that two cultural groups were examined: Chinese with a higher affinity to Canadian culture and Chinese with a higher affinity to Chinese culture. Quantitative analysis found that gender, age, household composition, level of education, and language of interview were not significant variables in park-going. Distance to opportunity was not a factor because the sample was drawn from the same community; individuals had equal access to a number of wilderness-oriented parks that are available within a short drive from the city. Discounting these variables leaves the possibility that differences in park going behaviours between high mainstream and low mainstream groups are due to the latter group's stronger affinity to Chinese cultural norms and values.

Findings also redirect attention to the largely neglected *identity theory*. A few respondents stated that some immigrants do not adopt a Canadian lifestyle and so continue to engage in activities that are more common to their heritage culture. This is one of the possible outcomes that can occur when two or more cultures interact (Suinn, 2002). Respondents alluded to immigrants they know who would prefer going for dim sum or to an Asian mall rather than to a park. By engaging in activities within their own community in order to preserve their ethnic identity, they contribute to lower Chinese park visitation rates.

6.2 THE ROLE OF IMMIGRATION

Contrary to the results of qualitative data analysis, chi square analysis indicated that acculturation was *not* a significant factor in the number of park visits by respondents. However, three factors related to acculturation (age at immigration, place of birth, and percentage of life in Canada) were significant ($P<0.05$). This suggests that park-going behaviours and motivations are not necessarily a function of acculturation, which in this study was one's self-report of "Canadianness" or "Chineseness", as measured by the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA).

Instead, it appears they are a more function of being an immigrant and recency of arrival. It is possible that this is true for other immigrant groups as well, not just for the Chinese community.

This might help explain three anomalous respondents who scored “low mainstream” yet were perceived by the researcher to be highly Canadian. The VIA scores for Respondent 36 placed him in the LMHC category, the “most Chinese” of the four classifications. However, this individual is a first-generation Canadian who is quite active in the outdoors. Though his total number of park visits over the past two years (eight visits) was below the median number of visits (11), they were all multi-day trips into the backcountry. Respondents 34 and 37 were both classified as LMLC. Curiously, they are both second-generation Canadians and each had 27 parks visits over the two-year timeframe. Respondent 34 is also heavily interested in multi-day trips into the backcountry. Because the three individuals were classified as low mainstream, it was expected they would have fewer total visits, and visit more developed settings. What might explain their contradictory behaviours is the fact that they are not immigrants. As such, they face fewer barriers to wilderness park going.

Immigrants on the other hand face several barriers to participation. A few immigrant respondents revealed their concerns about making a living and surviving in a new country, hinting that there were few finances and little leisure time available for recreation. Reitz (in “Canada: New Law”, 2000) reports that in 1996, immigrants who had arrived within five years earned 60% of what the average Canadian earned ($20,603 compared to $33,387). In the present study, eight of 10 immigrants who had arrived to Canada within the past five years reported a gross annual income below $15,000. Three were male heads of households with one or more children. Three were single females supporting themselves. Six of these interviews were conducted in the participants’ homes, and in four cases, limited finances were apparent. One participant resided with his wife in government-subsidized housing. Another participant occupied the upper floor of a house. Though his family had arrived in Canada almost a year earlier, the rooms were sparsely furnished. The two other participants occupied small basement suites with their families. One of these suites was very crowded with furniture and possessions, implying the family could not afford to rent a larger space.

The limited English language skills of many immigrants hedges their job options. Even though seven of the 10 most recent immigrants have university degrees (three at the graduate level), only one held a job with a salary in the expected income range of university graduates. Limited

English also makes it difficult to access the information required to plan a trip to a park; almost all official sources of park information – brochures, websites, staff, and onsite signage – are in English only. Thus, respondents with limited English skills rely primarily on friends and family for information. Even when information is offered in Chinese, it can be ineffective. Participants stated that the Cantonese Parks Canada commercial lacked basic information such as park names and the organization's phone number or internet address.

Limited social support that some immigrants face might serve as another barrier to wilderness park going. Two individuals decided not to visit a wilderness-oriented park because they could not find anyone to accompany them on the trip. Having arrived in the country only recently, they have only a few friends. Aside from the lack of social company, there is potentially a lack of child care. Though this issue did not emerge from the interviews, it is possible that some immigrant parents with young children do have an interest in going to wilderness parks but forego their plans because they have no one to take care of their children. They may not have any family in the new country or any close friends who are willing to baby-sit. One alternative is taking the children on the trip, though there are the troubles of bringing special food, toys, etc. Another alternative is choosing a park that is more suitable for children. The third alternative is refraining from visiting parks altogether.

In sum, results of qualitative analysis suggest that acculturation is related to park going behaviours. Results of quantitative analysis also indicate that factors highly associated with acculturation are significant predictors of park visitation. Surprisingly, acculturation itself, as measured by the VIA, was *not* a significant factor. This contradiction might be due to the subjective, self-reporting nature of the Index. As detailed in Chapter 5, this tool was used to classify participants into four broad acculturation groups, and data were analysed according to these groups to illustrate the variations within the Chinese community regarding their park going behaviours. It was only discovered late in the data analysis phase that an individual's self-perceived level of acculturation as measured by the Index is not necessarily in keeping with more objective indicators of acculturation (e.g. place of birth, generational status). This was evidenced by the three anomalous cases. Consequently, the results of this study cannot lend firm support for the assimilation theory, though they indicate a relationship between acculturation and outdoor recreation behaviour. As for the VIA, the tool shows overall promise as a means for assessing acculturation. However, because of its subjectivity, it should be used with caution and perhaps in conjunction with more objective measures.

6.3 THE ROLE OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

The relationship between socioeconomic status and outdoor recreation participation is widely documented. Generally, individuals in a lower socioeconomic stratum exhibit lower participation rates in outdoor activities. This study examined three socioeconomic variables: income, education, and gender. Chi square analysis showed that income was a significant factor in participants' number of park visits. As expected, individuals with lower earned income had fewer park visits: almost three-quarters of respondents with incomes below $15,000 had fewer park visits than the median number of visits. These findings are consistent with earlier studies examining the role of income (e.g. Lee et al., 2001; Scott & Munson, 1994).

Previous studies found that lower levels of education relationship are associated with lower outdoor recreation participation rates (e.g. FPT Task Force on the Importance of Nature to Canadians, 1999; Kelly 1980). Contrary to earlier findings, chi square analysis did not find education to be a significant factor in the number of park visits. Recent studies have also proposed that gender plays a role in outdoor recreation patterns (e.g. Shinew et al., 1995; Lee et al., 2001). Women, with their disadvantageous status, occupy a lower class stratum and could be expected to have lower participation rates. Chi square analysis in the present study, however, did not find gender to be a significant factor in the number of park visits.

Overall, these findings neither support nor disprove the socioeconomic-demographic theory of outdoor recreation participation. While income was a significant factor in the number of park visits, education and gender was not. Occupational status was not examined

6.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR PARK MANAGEMENT

Park managers have an opportunity to take an active role in facilitating Chinese participation in wilderness recreation, especially among Chinese who have lower levels of acculturation or are recent immigrants. One key area is providing a safe park environment, especially concerning wildlife, crime, and remoteness. Another important issue is ensuring that the amenities and services in parks meets the needs of current and potential visitors. While some visitors prefer a pristine and rustic wilderness experience, results indicate that others would desire a higher level of development in wilderness parks. Raising awareness of parks and recreation opportunities and facilitating access to information are critical for increasing participation. Devising culturally sensitive means of addressing particular aspects of Chinese subculture that are hindering participation is a further area that needs exploration. Minimizing barriers to park access that

immigrants face is also required. Finally, ensuring that all ethnic minority groups feel welcome in park spaces is crucial in a public-funded park system. Chapter 7 details specific recommendations for each of these key areas.

6.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNERS

The results of this study also have implications for general planning practice. Burstein (2000) notes that: "Canada leads the world in its efforts to recruit immigrants and build a large pluralistic society" (p. 14). The 2001 Census reports that 18.4% of Canadians are immigrants, up from 17.6% in 1996 (Ley & Germain, 2000; Statistics Canada, 2001a). Immigrants are continuing to settle in large urban centers. In the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, they constitute 43.7% of the population (+1.7% from 1996). In Vancouver, the proportion is 37.5% (+2.5%), followed by Montreal at 18.4% (+0.4%) (Ley & Germain, 2000; Statistics Canada, 2001b). This study has shown that subcultural groups and immigrants have unique preferences, behaviours, experiences, and expectations. As such, planners must address Canada's changing ethnocultural fabric and ensure that comprehensive and systematic policy initiatives meet diverse needs.

Planners must also balance the competing values of different groups. Qadeer (1997) recounts an article in *The Globe and Mail* that uses a tree as a salient example of the clashing views than can occur among different ethnic groups:

> *Italians and Portuguese like to keep trees short, allowing a better view of the neighbours. Anglo-Saxons want trees to be tall and leafy, blocking any views from and to neighbourhood houses. The Chinese believe trees in front of a home bring bad luck. As if these different preferences were not enough, the city has strict bylaws that prohibit cutting down trees, but allow pollarding (trimming trees into a high bush), which is favoured by Europeans* (p. 481).

Results of the present study foreshadow potential conflicts that might arise should park managers implement policies that increase use of wilderness-oriented parks by the Chinese community. For example, if park managers increase the number of barbecue facilities in parks and install electrical hookups in campgrounds to suit low mainstream Chinese who tend to prefer a higher level of development in the parks they frequent, this might upset those current users who enjoy a more pristine environment. This points at the need for planners to examine issues "from a multicultural perspective in order to formulate policies and norms that serve the common interests of all", rather than tailor policies to specific cultural backgrounds (Qadeer, 2000, p.17).

6.6 SUMMARY

Lower levels of acculturation along with certain aspects of the Chinese subcultural identity, income, and external factors such as the availability of information appear to play a role in the overall lower Chinese participation rates in wilderness-oriented activities in Greater Vancouver. These findings lend some support to the assimilation, subcultural, and socioeconomic demographic theories on cultural differences in outdoor recreation participation. Park managers can adopt a number of strategies to facilitate Chinese participation in wilderness recreation, as will be detailed in the following chapter. Considering the increasingly multicultural nature of Canadian cities, planners in general should promote equity in accessing publicly-funded resources and services. They should also take a pluralistic approach to planning and question "unitary plans" that are designed for a single interest (Davidoff, 1965).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter emphasizes the need to achieve cultural diversity in wilderness recreation and discusses the overarching benefits of engaging the Chinese community in wilderness activities. The role of cultural diversity in general planning practice is addressed. Reflections on the study's limitations are presented, along with directions for future research. The chapter concludes by recapping the main findings that explain under-participation and outlining seven recommendations and related strategies that can facilitate Chinese access to Greater Vancouver's wilderness-oriented parks. Hopefully, these recommendations will serve as a general framework for increasing ethnic minority participation in wilderness recreation.

7.1 ACHIEVING CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN WILDERNESS RECREATION

Greater Vancouver is one of the most cosmopolitan regions in the world. It ranks third among international metropolitan areas that have significant proportions of foreign-born residents, surpassing cities including Sydney and New York (Greater Vancouver Regional District Policy & Planning Department 2003). However, the region's cultural diversity is not currently reflected in wilderness recreation participation. In the case of the Chinese community, this is attributed to lower than average levels of acculturation, particular aspects of the Chinese subcultural identity, and external factors (Section 6.1.2.2), such as the availability of park information. Park managers, in collaboration with various community organizations and the tourism industry, have the opportunity to increase Chinese use of wilderness-oriented parks. This can be achieved, in general terms, by providing a safe park environment, ensuring that parks offer amenities and services that meet the public's needs, raising park awareness and facilitating access to park information, and devising culturally sensitive means of addressing unique aspects of Chinese subculture that are hindering participation. A list of detailed recommendations appears at the end of the chapter.

Employing these measures is vitally important considering parks are a public trust that should meet the needs of all community members. While many current visitors prefer a park environment with minimal development, results indicate that low mainstream Chinese tend to prefer a higher level of development in the parks they frequent. This stems from a number of factors, including their lack of wilderness experience, the preference for facilities that enable preparation of traditional Chinese food, and the desire for park experiences to be comfortable, convenient, and clean. Herein lies the challenge of meeting visitor expectations, maintaining

the integrity of wilderness-oriented park values, while facing decreased funding for park programs. One option could be to provide a higher level of development in parks. For instance, electrical hookups and water taps could be installed in day use areas and campgrounds that have high visitorship. This would facilitate Chinese cooking in the outdoors. Hookups would allow the use of electric kettles, rice cookers, and electric saucepans, while taps would facilitate hand washing and clean-up. These services would benefit not only low mainstream Chinese, but also general park users. A recent household survey of British Columbians found that 75% of survey respondents (N=2,387) would prefer campsites with electrical hookups and water (Dyck & Selbee, 2001). Seventy percent would prefer showers in campgrounds (Ibid). Park managers could also provide different types of overnight accommodation in parks. Dyck & Selbee found that 59% of survey respondents would like to see hut-to-hut accommodation[39], 45% yurts[40], and 41% hostels[41]. While these types of development might increase visitor satisfaction, it also threatens the integrity of wilderness-oriented parks. Change to wilderness cannot be "undone" – it is difficult to restore an area to its original state once infrastructure is built. Furthermore, providing subsidies for too "lush" of a park experience may result in political strains between the public sector and nearby private sector campsites, motels, etc.

Another option could be to restrict any accommodation-related development in wilderness-oriented parks and, instead, channel visitors who are not yet ready for a "real" overnight wilderness experience to nearby full-service campgrounds, motels, etc. That way, visitors can access amenities such as hot showers and cooking facilities in the evenings and enjoy park activities during the day. For example, some visitors may be deterred from camping at Sasquatch Provincial Park because it offers only rustic amenities (pit toilets, cold water taps and/or hand pumps). However, there are at least seven private campgrounds and RV parks that offer full amenities in a nearby town. Visitors can stay overnight at these privately-run sites and enjoy the park's warm-water lakes, sandy beaches, fishing, and canoeing opportunities during the day. Though this option would prevent the public sector from "infringing" on the private tourism industry, it does not generate any immediate revenue to help fund park programs[42]. These day users would be contributing to the wear and tear of public park facilities

[39] Small cabins sleeping six to eight people.
[40] Canvas tents on a wooden platform; beds and showers provided.
[41] Sleeping up to 20 people; common cooking area provided.
[42] One can argue that visitors who use parks for day-use purposes but stay at private, full-service accommodation would eventually progress along the continuum of recreation development (Bryan, 1977; see Chapter 3) and seek more rustic overnight experiences. They may "graduate" to in-park

(e.g. trails, picnic tables), but paying overnight accommodation fees to the private sector. Park managers can counter this by charging parking fees at day use areas[43].

Implementing strategies to facilitate ethnic minority use of wilderness is also essential considering Vancouver's Chinese community (and immigrant community in general) is growing rapidly. By 2026, it is expected that Canada's population will grow solely by immigration (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002). With immigrants constituting a sizable portion of the population in the future, it is imperative that wilderness lobbies such as The Land Conservancy and The Nature Trust gain their support for conservation initiatives before urban sprawl and resource development further consume natural spaces with high conservation value. Studies have shown that participating in wilderness activities leads to increased environmental appreciation, awareness, and stewardship (e.g. North American Association for Environmental Education, 2001; Ewert, Hendee, Davidson, Brame & Mackey, 1999). Facilitating Chinese and immigrant access to wilderness activities will ultimately lead to stronger political support for conservation. There is also the potential of gaining financial support from the Chinese community. Market studies have found the Vancouver Chinese population in general is relatively affluent, as evidenced by product ownership. For example, 90% of Chinese households in Vancouver own an automobile, whereas the 1999 Canadian average was 49%. Seventy-seven percent of Chinese cash purchase their vehicles without financing (Fairchild Television, 2002). If wilderness appreciation in the Chinese community is heightened, there is potential for the community to fundraise large sums of money for wilderness trusts.

Finally, removing barriers to participation will likely result in increased use of wilderness-oriented parks, which would lead to increased visitor expenditures. In 1999, direct visitor expenditures[44] on Lower Mainland provincial parks amounted to $85.6 million (British Columbia Ministry of

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campgrounds and become fee-paying users. Determining whether low mainstream Chinese (or other groups with low levels of wilderness participation) eventually graduate to wilderness parks is one possible area of further study.

[43] As of May 1, 2003, BC Parks will charge parking fees at 14 highly used parks in the Lower Mainland. Fees will range from $3 to $5 (BC Parks, 2003). GVRD Parks currently charges parking fees at two locations. Due to its proximity to the University of British Columbia campus, parking at the Fraser Lot at Pacific Spirit Park costs $5/d. Overnight parking (primarily for trailers and RVs) at Grant Narrows Park in Pitt Meadows is $5/vehicle/d. GVRD Parks is currently conducting a feasibility study on implementing parking fees in select day use areas (G. Jensen, personal communication, April 8, 2003).

[44] This study only measured costs directly associated with park visits. It includes park fees and some, but not all, accommodation and travel costs. Thus, the figures reported are conservative.

Water, Land and Air Protection, 2001a). This equates to roughly $80 spent per visiting party[45] (Ibid, 2001a, 2001b). Based on these figures, if park visitorship was to increase by just 2%, an additional $1.7 million would be put into the local economy per year. When factoring in indirect visitor expenditures such as outdoor recreation products, groceries, and meals, the economic benefits would be even higher. Furthermore, if wilderness-oriented parks become more accessible and appealing to the Chinese community, they can be marketed to overseas tourists in East Asia. This would have spin-off economic benefits for the local tourism industry.

7.2 CULTURAL DIVERSITY & GENERAL PLANNING PRACTICE

As immigration continues to fuel Canada's population growth, planners will undoubtedly be challenged with ensuring that "public social and cultural services and facilities" meet the needs of diverse groups (GVRD Policy & Planning Department, 2003, p. 4). Parks and recreation is just one area of concern. Planners will also need to consider housing issues, health care, education, employment, transportation, and social services for new immigrants and multicultural groups (Ibid; Qadeer, 2000). Comprehensive and systematic policy initiatives should be in place in each of these areas so that all groups are served fairly and equally, with the understanding that "equally" does not necessarily mean that all groups are treated the same way (Au, 2000). Planners will also need to mediate the conflicts that will inevitably arise between different ethnocultural groups, due to differences in language, life histories, lifestyle, family structure, and cultural values (Ibid). Actions taken to harmonize these conflicts should be community-oriented and focus on integration, communication, and education.

7.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

As detailed in Chapter 4, the main limitation of this research was the lack of a representative sample. The Chinese community was treated as single entity in spite of its heterogeneity. For instance, Chinese families in Vancouver have immigrated from Hong Kong, and increasingly, from Mainland China and Taiwan. Nevertheless, the Taiwanese community was notably under-represented, with only two respondents. Further, the procedure employed resulted in a non-random sample. Though this exploratory study never sought to make broad generalizations about park planning for Chinese visitors, a representative sample would have resulted in more generalizable findings that might be more useful to park managers and researchers outside of BC.

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[45] This figure was calculated by dividing 1999 visitor expenditures with the average number of visiting parties per year between 1996 to 2000. Attendance figures for 1999 alone were not available. There are

The second limitation of this research was the strictly subjective nature of the Vancouver Index of Acculturation. The VIA was a useful tool for determining participants' acculturation levels. Through qualitative data analysis, the researcher found that subjective aspects of acculturation (e.g. importance of heritage or mainstream cultural values, enjoyment of heritage or mainstream music and movies), as measured by the Index, were predictors of wilderness park going behaviours. However, quantitative analysis revealed that subjective aspects of acculturation do *not* predict wilderness behaviour, but objective aspects of acculturation (e.g. place of birth, age of arrival) do. Because of the multiple dimensions of acculturation, employing an instrument that assesses *both* subjective and objective aspects of acculturation might have strengthened the study.

7.4 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The results and limitations of this study point to several directions for future research. First, this study demonstrates how face-to-face qualitative interviews can yield rich, detailed insights that would not likely emerge if a quantitative approach was employed. Only in conversation with the respondents did factors such as "value of fair skin" or "emphasis on academics" arise. The field of park planning can benefit from additional qualitative studies, particularly those concerning subjective issues such as visitor preferences, perceptions, and motivations.

Second, would the research methodology employed in this study work in a different context? Would research on the Chinese populations in Toronto, San Francisco, or Sydney yield similar results? Do acculturation and subculture affect Chinese participation in other types of leisure and recreation activities, such as museum visitation, domestic travel, and exercising? Do acculturation and subculture play a role in the wilderness recreation behaviour of other ethnic minority groups, such as East Indians, Jamaicans, or Polish? Future studies can help verify the results of this study as well as explore the generalisability of this research approach.

Third, the lack of a representative sample might prompt future researchers to conduct a more extensive study of the Greater Vancouver Chinese community, which is becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Future studies can employ a larger sample stratified by national origins and examine how differences in the geography of countries or origin, and social or political history might result in different perspectives and experiences regarding wilderness recreation. A

3.2 people/party for overnight visits and 3.5 people/party for day use visits.

random sampling procedure (e.g. every *nth* person in a telephone directory who has a Chinese-sounding last name) would also lead to more generalizable results.

Fourth, future studies that test the relationship between ethnic minority participation and level of acculturation can explore the use of acculturation scales that combine both subjective and objective questions (e.g. Cultural Beliefs and Behaviors Adaptation Profile (Shiang, 1998)). This would not only verify results of the present study but also explore the utility of other acculturation scales in planning research.

Fifth, since this study suggests that acculturation plays a role in park going behaviour, it would be worthwhile to conduct a longitudinal study of new immigrant families and track how their behaviours, preferences, perceptions, and motivations change over time. Such a study might enhance the results of this research as well as lend further support for the assimilation theory.

Finally, further research on planning for ethnocultural diversity would be invaluable. With a growing foreign-born population and woefully sparse professional planning literature on multicultural planning, planners would benefit from additional empirical studies on which they can base recommendations and strategies that accommodate the needs of immigrants, ethnic minorities, and culturally-distinct groups.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

This final section outlines recommendations and strategies that can help facilitate Chinese access to the wilderness recreation opportunities in Greater Vancouver. In a broader context, these recommendations could be applicable to parks with wilderness-like qualities yet are located within a day's trip from culturally diverse urban centers. A summary of all the strategies can be found in Table 7.1 at the end of the chapter.

1) Provide a safe park environment. There is a perception among the Chinese that wilderness is unsafe. Wildlife – especially bears – is of greatest concern. Crime, remoteness, and unfamiliarity with or lack of wilderness survival skills are of additional concern among low mainstream respondents. Based on these concerns, the following strategies are recommended:

- Park managers should work in collaboration with Chinese social service providers and the tourism industry to educate the Chinese community about bear and wildlife safety. This can

be achieved through Chinese language brochures and signage, wilderness courses (see last strategy for Recommendation 1, p. 98), and interpretive programs for children.

- Park managers should provide ranger patrols, especially during peak visitor seasons. Three-quarters of respondents were inclined towards having rangers in parks, primarily for safety and security, and to a lesser extent for information. These results are consistent with earlier findings by Manning (1999), who reviewed 28 studies on backcountry user attitudes and found that most visitors prefer the presence of wilderness rangers. Similarly, Fletcher & Fletcher (2003) reported that visitors are negatively affected by the absence of park staff. Doucette & Cole (in Ibid.) note that personal contact with rangers and other park staff is regarded as the "most important and effective mean of communication and education" (p. 35). Clearly the presence of park rangers would benefit most visitors.

- Park managers should indicate in brochures and onsite signage who to call in an emergency (e.g. ranger station, ambulance), the location of the nearest pay phones, and park areas that receive cellular phone service. While these measures would benefit all visitors, the point regarding cellular phone coverage would be of particular benefit to the Chinese community. Seventy-eight percent of Chinese households in Vancouver own a cellular phone (the Canadian average is 32%) (Fairchild Television, 2002).

- Recreation programmers at Chinese social service agencies should work in collaboration with park authorities and outdoor schools to develop guided, organized, wilderness courses for Chinese groups. In addition to teaching wilderness survival skills including hazard recognition and avoidance, emergency kits, survival psychology, and navigation (Canada West Mountain School, 2003), these programs would teach the very basics of *how* to use wilderness (e.g. how to set up a tent, start a fire), and how to use it comfortably (e.g. providing cooking tips, information on inflatable sleeping pads). In a wider context, these programs can also be provided to a variety of ethnic groups.

2) Ensure that parks offer amenities and services that meet the needs of current and potential visitors. This could be challenging because of several conflicting interests (detailed in Section 7.1). Low mainstream Chinese tend to prefer higher levels of park development, while many current visitors prefer parks with little or no development. Park managers need to ensure wilderness integrity yet generate revenue by attracting more overnight (fee-paying)

visitors. Providing yurts, huts, hostels in parks might increase visitorship, but could result in political strains with nearby private sector campsites, motels, and other accommodation providers. As such, the recommendations are as follows:

- Park managers should promote parks that already have highly developed recreation areas, campgrounds[46], and trail systems to the low mainstream Chinese community.

- Park managers should allow for *limited* development within wilderness-oriented parks. A limited number of electrical hookups and water taps can be installed in day use areas and campgrounds that already are heavily used and have high demand. Likewise, park managers can explore the possibility of developing a limited number of yurts or hut-to-hut accommodation where there is high user demand. Larger-scale developments such as hostels would surely compromise wilderness values.

- Park managers, in partnership with nearby private accommodation providers, should develop a marketing scheme that targets the low mainstream Chinese community and encourages day use of park areas and overnight use of private, full-service accommodation.

- Park managers should ensure that existing park facilities are well-maintained. Several respondents emphasized that they want a clean (hygienic) park experience and noted that some pit toilets are not well-kept. Pit toilets, particularly those in high use areas, should be properly screened, supplied with paper, and regularly cleaned and pumped.

3) Raise awareness of parks and recreation opportunities. There appears to be a lack of awareness of some of the recreation opportunities in parks and of some parks themselves. For instance, several respondents were unaware of rock climbing opportunities in the Squamish area even though the area offers some of the best rock climbing in North America. There was also a case of a local-born respondent who was unaware of wilderness-oriented parks on the North Shore mountains, even though they are located just a half-hour drive away and near major tourist attractions. Two strategies regarding awareness are recommended:

- Park managers and tourism agencies should develop a Chinese mass marketing campaign on wilderness-oriented parks and recreation opportunities. Advertising media can include

[46] BC Parks is the largest provider of campsites in the province, with over 13,000 campsites. Some of campgrounds offer hot showers, flush toilets, and can be reserved in advance while others are more

Chinese television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. Goldsmith (1994) notes that effective marketing programs targeted at under-represented ethnic minority groups are rare. Respondents' comments about the Cantonese Parks Canada commercial are a case in point. Respondents implied that if the advertiser's intention was to stimulate interest in the Chinese community regarding national parks, the commercial would have been more effective if it showed a more developed wilderness setting, depicted activities that are suitable for families with young children, and cast Chinese actors. This suggests the necessity of seeking input from the target audience in order to create an effective marketing campaign.

- Park managers, in partnership with Chinese social service agencies, should set up awareness displays in Asian malls and at community events and festivals with large Chinese attendance (e.g. Dragon Boat Festival). Displays should feature local wilderness-oriented parks and recreation opportunities and be in Chinese and English. Bilingual staff should also be on hand to answer questions from the public.

- Chinese social service agencies and recreation programmers, in consultation with park managers, should develop Chinese cultural events (e.g. Mid-Autumn Festival) in popular day use areas.

4) Facilitate access to park information. Forty percent of respondents feel it difficult to find information on wilderness-oriented parks. For instance, respondents pointed out that park brochures are not easily available and phone numbers to park information offices are obscure. Respondents also mentioned that they are sometimes unsure as to which agency runs which park, since there are multiple jurisdictions responsible for recreation sites (e.g. BC Parks, BC Forest Service, GVRD Parks, various municipalities). Thus, they do not know who to call for information about a park. Respondents suggested a number of means through which to provide information. Print media, including brochures, newspapers, and posters, was the most popular suggestion, especially among low mainstream respondents. Television, radio, or telephone (toll-free information line) was the second most popular suggestion, particularly among high mainstream respondents. This was closely followed by internet websites, which was suggested by high mainstream and low mainstream groups almost equally. Drawing upon respondents'

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rustic in nature and have only pit toilets and hand pumps and are available on a first-come first-serve

observations and suggestions, park managers should undertake the following strategies to facilitate information retrieval for the Chinese community and the general public:

- Provide information through a variety of means, including print, broadcast, and online media. Lee, Floyd & Shinew (2002) note that promotional strategies that rely on just one medium would "very likely be ineffective", because different socio-demographic groups have different search strategies (p. 38). In this study, friends and family were the primary source of information for respondents with limited English language skills, while the internet was a popular source of information among younger respondents.

- Place information in strategic locations. For example, park brochures can be placed in public locations such as community centers and libraries. Short television commercials can be aired during prime viewing hours. Official park websites can be created such that they are the top hit on an internet search engine.

- Provide up-to-date and accurate park information to tourism offices so they can relay information to visitors.

- Create a print and online directory for wilderness-oriented parks in the Greater Vancouver area. The directory would clearly list the names of all parks and recreation areas; key features, facilities, and services; the agency responsible for the park; and phone numbers for various park offices. The directory would be available in a variety of languages, including Chinese, and be a joint effort among various park agencies.

To cope with the lack of Chinese-language information available on wilderness-oriented parks, the following actions are recommended:

- Park managers should translate park brochures, maps, website information, and onsite signage into Chinese, where possible.

- Park agencies should employ multilingual park information officers, based on their expertise and skills.

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basis. Provincial campsites do not have electrical hookups.

- Park managers should provide information about wilderness-oriented parks and recreation opportunities to staff at Chinese social service and recreation agencies and to Chinese tourism operators, who can translate and relay information to patrons and clients.

- Park managers should liaise with writers in the ethnic press to promote parks. For instance, the President of the Green Club submits articles related to "green culture" to three Taiwanese and Chinese newspapers every other day (K01). Park staff can work with him on "park of the week" stories and articles on current park and conservation issues.

5) Devise culturally sensitive means of addressing particular aspects of Chinese subculture that are hindering participation. This is not to suggest that Chinese values should be replaced by Canadian ones. Rather, the intention here is to offer ways in which the differing values of two different cultures can be resolved. For example, as some traditional Chinese parents believe their children should focus only on school work and not waste time on recreation, it is recommended that:

- Educators should promote to traditional parents the need for balance in educational learning and highlight the benefits of outdoor and wilderness education programs. Such programs are offered in the public school system (e.g. through Mini School programs or senior Physical Education classes) or by organizations such as Outward Bound. Research has found that environment-based education and wilderness experience programs develop lifelong learning skills, career skills necessary for the workplace, and leadership ability; foster personal growth; and increase environmental stewardship (NAAEE, 2001; Ewert et al., 1999). Furthermore, promoting outdoor and wilderness education among children of immigrants might also have indirect, positive effects on their families.

To counter the traditional Chinese notion that wilderness is a place for the poor, it is recommended that tourism agencies and resort operators:

- Devise a marketing program to attract Chinese to wilderness resorts. With their considerable purchasing power, as evidenced by product ownership (Fairchild Television, 2002; see page 94), tourism agencies can market luxurious wilderness resorts, such as Eli Wong's Castle Resort in Princeton, BC, to the Chinese community. Wong, a Hong Kong businesswoman, developed the 120 acre site to include fifty RV campsites, 19 small cabins, and 10 teepees. Noting that the Chinese "like to have city comforts as part of the wilderness experience", she also built seven luxury log cabin chalets specifically to attract a Vancouver

Chinese clientele (McMartin, 2002, n. pag). The chalets offer four bedrooms with four-poster beds, a full kitchen and bar, a hot tub, marble tiling, and satellite TV service. Wong remarks:

> *This is the first step to getting the Chinese outdoors. We're trying to educate them... My manager's wife said she'd throw out all the TVs because she's used to roughing it when she goes camping. But I said, 'First, we get them out here, and then we get them into the wilderness'* (Ibid).

6) Generate means of coping with the unique barriers that immigrants face in accessing parks. Some immigrants focus only on work as they get established in a new country. In some cases, this is due to financial hardship. One respondent, who used to volunteer with new immigrants, noted that newcomers are "so focused on the immediate problem of getting introduced to our society that they forget about the fun aspect… That's important, but you also have to have balance" (HMLC23). Three strategies are recommended for Chinese and new immigrant social service agencies:

- Promote to clients the benefits of participating in outdoor and wilderness recreation, including physical and psychological wellness, increased appreciation of natural spaces, spiritual renewal, and personal development (Ewert et. al, 1999; NAAEE, 2001).

- Provide information to clients about parks and nature-related opportunities. Staff at organizations such as SUCCESS would be viewed by new immigrants as credible, trustworthy sources of information.

- Subsidize costs of initial wilderness experiences for clients who cannot otherwise afford more costly activities such as camping and canoeing. This can be achieved by establishing partnerships with outdoor equipment suppliers and park agencies.

After arriving to Canada, some new immigrants resist changing their values and behaviours, which exclude wilderness park going. Perhaps this is less an issue about cultural resistance than it is about the difficulties newcomers face in adjusting and fitting in to community life. Recommendations are :

- Chinese social service providers and new immigrant societies should continue assisting new Canadians in overcoming language and cultural barriers through language classes, community orientation programs, etc.

- Chinese social service agencies should work with community recreation programmers to devise intercultural nature programs. Such programs not only foster appreciation for the

outdoors, but also promote ethnocultural harmony and build understanding between diverse cultures (Alberta Recreation & Parks Association, n.d.).

7) Ensure that all ethnic minority groups feel welcome in park spaces. This is essential in a publicly-funded park system. Lee (in Carr & Williams, 1993) observed that individuals tend to seek recreation sites occupied by others whom they perceive to be similar enough to themselves to feel they belong. This is most often based on ethnic composition. Some respondents in the present study implied they perceive parks as "white" spaces, which might deter visitation. Goldsmith (1994) also notes that ethnic minority groups do not see themselves mirrored in park staffing. As such, the following strategies are recommended:

- Park managers and tourism agencies should ensure that the ethnocultural demographics of Canada are reflected in advertisements about parks (e.g. television, posters, websites, brochures). This would convey to ethnic minority groups and the general public that parks are inclusive spaces that can be enjoyed by everyone in the community.

- Park managers should employ culturally diverse staff, based on their expertise and skills. This should be done at both the field level (e.g. rangers, park interpreters), so that visitors can directly interact with staff, as well as at the policy level (e.g. park planners and managers), so that visitors' diverse needs can be addressed from a multicultural perspective.

- Since hiring needs to be done by ability, not along racial lines, park managers should encourage educators to recruit ethnic minorities into college and university programs in the field of parks and recreation management, which traditionally have low ethnic minority enrollment (Kraus, 1987). This could be challenging since traditional Chinese parents tend to direct their children towards academic programs in science and technology since they believe "scientists and engineers enjoy higher social status and a more stable career than other professionals" (Lew, 1998, p. 220). One way of surmounting this challenge might be to advertise parks and recreation management programs in Chinese newspapers with testimonies or feature stories of program graduates who moved on to successful, professional careers in government departments and consulting firms.

Table 7.1 summarizes objectives and specific recommendations that might increase Chinese participation in wilderness-oriented parks, identifies the agencies that would potentially implement the strategies, and lists the parties that would benefit from the action.

TABLE 7.1: POTENTIAL FRAMEWORK FOR INCREASING CHINESE PARTICIPATION IN WILDERNESS-ORIENTED PARKS

Recommendation	Strategies / Actions	Who is potentially responsible?							Who benefits?					
		Park managers	Chinese social service agencies	Tourism industry	Recreation programmers	Educators	New immigrant service societies	Others	General public	General Chinese community	LM Chinese / New immigrants	General park visitors	Tourism industry	Others
Provide a safe park environment.	Educate the Chinese community about bear and wildlife safety.	x	x	x						x	x			
	Provide ranger patrols, especially during peak visitor seasons.	x								x	x	x		
	Indicate in brochures and onsite signage who to call in an emergency, the location of the nearest pay phones, and park that receive cellular phone service.	x								x	x	x		
	Devise guided, organized, wilderness courses for Chinese and other ethnic groups.	x	x		x					x	x			x *1
Ensure that parks offer amenities and services that meet the needs of current and potential visitors.	Promote the parks that have highly developed recreation areas, campgrounds, and trail systems.	x									x			x *2
	Allow for limited development in wilderness-oriented parks.	x									x	x		
	Develop a marketing scheme targeting the low mainstream Chinese community that encourages day use of park areas and overnight use of private, full service accommodation.	x		x							x		x	
	Ensure that existing park facilities are well-maintained.	x										x		

Recommendation	Strategies / Actions	Park Mgrs.	Ch. Soc.	Tour	Rec. Prgms	Edu.	New Imm.	Others	Gen. Pub.	Gen. Ch.	L.M.C. / N.I.	Gen. Park	Tour	Others
Raise awareness of parks and recreation opportunities.	Develop a Chinese effective mass marketing campaign on wilderness-oriented parks and recreation opportunities.	x		x						x	x		X	
	Set up awareness displays in Asian malls and at community events and festivals with large Chinese attendance.	x	x						x	x	x		x	
	Develop Chinese cultural events in popular day use areas	x	x		x					x	x	x		
Facilitate access to park information.	Provide improved park information through a variety of means, including print, broadcast, and online media.	x							x	x				
	Place more information in strategic locations.	x							x	x				
	Provide up-to-date and accurate park information to tourism offices so they can relay information to visitors.	x							x	x			x	
	Create a comprehensive print and online directory for wilderness-oriented parks in the Greater Vancouver area.	x							x	x				
	Translate park brochures, maps, website information, and onsite signage into Chinese, where possible.	x									x		x	
	Employ multilingual park information officers, based on expertise and skills.	x									x			
	Provide information about wilderness-oriented parks and recreation opportunities to staff at Chinese social service and recreation agencies and to Chinese tourism operators, who can translate and relay information to patrons and clients.	x	x		x			x			x		x	
	Liaise with writers in the ethnic press to promote parks.	x						x *3			x			

Recommendation	Strategies / Actions	Park Mgrs.	Ch. Soc.	Tour	Rec. Prgms	Edu.	New Imm.	Others	Gen. Pub.	Gen. Ch.	L.M.C. / N.I.	Gen. Park	Tour	Others
Devise culturally sensitive means of addressing particular aspects of Chinese subculture that are hindering participation.	Promote the need for balance in educational learning and highlight the benefits of outdoor and wilderness education programs to traditional parents.					x								x *4
	Devise a marketing program to attract Chinese to wilderness resorts.			x						x	x		x	
Generate means of coping with the unique barriers that immigrant face in accessing parks.	Promote to clients the benefits of outdoor and wilderness recreation.		x				x				x			
	Provide information to clients about parks and nature-related opportunities.		x				x				x			
	Subsidize costs of initial wilderness experiences for clients who cannot otherwise afford more costly recreation activities.		x				x	x *5			x		x	
	Continue assisting new Canadians in overcoming language and cultural barriers.		x				x				x			
	Devise intercultural nature programs.		x		x						x			x *6
Ensure that all ethnic minority groups feel welcome in park spaces.	Ensure that the ethnocultural demographics of Canada are reflected in advertisements about parks.	x		x						x	x			x *1 *7
	Employ culturally diverse staff, based on expertise and skills.	x												x *1
	Encourage educators to recruit ethnic minorities into college and university programs in the field of parks and recreation management.	x				x								x *8

*1 Ethnic minority park users *2 Other users with similar preferences *3 Ethnic press *4 Children of traditional Chinese parents *5 Outdoor equipment suppliers
*6 Non-Chinese program participants *7 Intercultural relations *8 Children of traditional Chinese parents, students in general, park managers

7.6 SUMMARY

Results suggest the need to adopt seven broad recommendations in the areas of safety, level of development, information and awareness, and cultural sensitivity in order to facilitate Chinese access to wilderness-oriented parks. Specific actions need to be implemented primarily by park managers, but also by the tourism industry and community organizations such as Chinese social service providers and recreation programmers. If these strategies are adopted, they would benefit the Chinese community, other ethnic minority groups, and park users in general. They would also provide overarching benefits to the environment and the economy.

APPENDIX A

CHINESE CHARACTERS, LATINISED PHONETICS & TRANSLATIONS FOR TERMS RELATED TO THE NOTION OF "WILDERNESS"

Chinese Character(s)	Latinised Phonetics	Translation
荒	Huang	Vast uncultivated territories
大荒	Da huang	Great expanse
荒野	Huangye	Wilderness expanse
荒地	Huangdi	Vast earth expanse
郊外	Jiaowai	Territories beyond administrative boundaries
郊	Jiao	Outskirts of district city
野	Ye	Area beyond outskirts (wilderness)
林	Lin	Forests (external to wilderness)
通	Tong	Arid Land

APPENDIX B

Interview guide

Interview #: _____ **Respondent's gender**: $F_{(1)}$ / $M_{(2)}$ (Circle one)

Date: ____/____/02 **Language**: English$_{(1)}$ / Cantonese$_{(2)}$ / Mandarin$_{(3)}$ (Circle one)

Please remember that all the information you provide will be strictly confidential. If at any time during the interview you don't understand a question, please tell me, and I will try to clarify it for you. Are you ready to begin?

The first few questions has to do with your thoughts about wilderness.

Q1 **a)** What do you think of when someone says the word "wilderness"?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Probes:
- Some people they feel peaceful and connected to nature when they are in the wilderness. How do you feel about a statement like that?
- Some people feel excited when they are in the wilderness. How do you feel about that?
- Is wilderness a safe place?
- Are you at all scared by the idea of wilderness?

b) *Please spend a few moments imagining yourself in an area of wilderness where you would feel comfortable.*

i. Please describe this area using words or phrases. What do you see, hear, smell, and feel?
ii. How would you use this wilderness? What could you do or experience there?
iii. Is this wilderness suitable for social activities? What types of activities? With who?

_____

_____

_____

_____

The next question has to do with the recreation activities you participate in. I will read off a list of activities and you can answer how often you participate in each one. You can use this key to help guide your answers.

[Hand respondent Key 1 and read Q2.]

Q2. **a)** Since the summer of 2000, on average, how many days in the year do you…? *[Read items off list and indicate frequency.]*

0 times/yr	1-5 times/yr	6-10 times/yr	10-20 times/yr	Over 20 times/yr
1	2	3	4	5

	Frequency						*Frequency*					
Go to the beach	1	2	3	4	5		Jog	1	2	3	4	5
Bicycle on roads	1	2	3	4	5		Go for nature studies/ appreciation	1	2	3	4	5
Bicycle on trails	1	2	3	4	5		Play outdoor field sports	1	2	3	4	5
Camp with car, RV or motorhome	1	2	3	4	5		Go on picnics	1	2	3	4	5
Downhill ski or snowboard	1	2	3	4	5		Swim in ocean, lake or river	1	2	3	4	5
Drive for pleasure	1	2	3	4	5		Swim in outdoor pools	1	2	3	4	5
Freshwater fish	1	2	3	4	5		Sightsee/ view landscapes	1	2	3	4	5
Golf	1	2	3	4	5		View wildlife	1	2	3	4	5
Hike	1	2	3	4	5		Walk for pleasure	1	2	3	4	5
_____	1	2	3	4	5		_____	1	2	3	4	5
_____	1	2	3	4	5		_____	1	2	3	4	5
_____	1	2	3	4	5		_____	1	2	3	4	5
_____	1	2	3	4	5		_____	1	2	3	4	5

b) Are there other outdoor recreation activities you have participated in over the past two years that I have not mentioned? On average, how many days in the year do you participate in those activities?

The next question has to do with your preferences for vacationing [Read Q3.]

Q3 **a)** If you had a choice as to the type of vacation you would take sometime in the next two years, what type of holiday trip would you prefer? Could you please tell me in your own words?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Probes:
i. Where would you go? Why?
ii. What types of activities would you do?
iii. Who would you go with?

b) Would you ever go camping for a holiday trip?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

If yes: *i.* Can you suggest any reasons why you would go camping? *[List all reasons.]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

ii. If you only had the opportunity for *one* holiday trip sometime in the next two years, would camping be your first choice for a vacation?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

If no: *iii.* Can you suggest any reasons why you would not go camping? *[List all reasons.]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

Probes:
i. Do any of your friends go camping?
ii. Did you grow up going camping (i.e. with parents, friends, or groups such as Boy Scouts)?

I will be asking quite a few questions about wilderness-oriented parks in this interview. When I say "wilderness-oriented parks", I am referring to parks that are further away from the city. They are usually in a more natural setting and have fewer man-made features. Wilderness-oriented parks would include National Parks such Pacific Rim or Mount Revelstoke; Provincial Parks such as Mount Seymour or Cultus Lake; and Regional Parks such as Burnaby Lake or Capilano River. Wilderness-oriented parks would not include parks in the city such as Stanley Park or a small park in your neighbourhood. [Read Q4.]

Q4. **a)** Given this definition, in the past two years, since the summer of 2000, have you visited any wilderness-oriented parks in British Columbia?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

If yes: Go to Q5 and read.

If no: **b)** Can you suggest any reasons why you haven't visited any wilderness-oriented parks during that time? *[List all reasons.]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

Probes:
i. Do any of your friends go to wilderness-oriented parks? Do they participate in wilderness-oriented recreation activities?
ii. Did you grow up using wilderness-oriented parks (i.e. with parents, friends, or groups such as Boy Scouts)?
iii. Did you grow up participating in wilderness-oriented activities (i.e. with parents, friends, or groups such as Boy Scouts)?
iv. If wilderness-oriented parks had food concessions, would you be more inclined to visit? If these parks had food concessions, what would you like them to serve?
v. Do you have any regular commitments during the week that prevent you from going to these parks?
vi. Have you ever had a bad experience at a wilderness-oriented park? If yes, what would you say was the broad nature of the bad experience (e.g. bad weather)

c) Have you visited a wilderness-oriented park in British Columbia at any other time, other than in the past two years?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

If yes: *Go to Q5 and read.*

If no: **d)** Have you ever thought about going to a wilderness-oriented park?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

[Proceed to Q6d and read.] //

Q5. **a)** Which areas have you visited in the past two years? To help you remember some of the park names, here are some maps and a list of parks in the Greater Vancouver area. *[Present respondent maps and list. Record all the areas the respondent mentions, whether they are away from the city or not.]*

b) Can you describe your experiences in each of these parks? *[If necessary, read the areas the respondent has mentioned back one at a time, then record the responses next to the appropriate area.]*

Probes:
i. How many times did you visit this park?
ii. What were your reasons for visiting this park?

iii. Who did you go with?
iv. How long did you stay for?
v. What types of activities did you do at the park?
vi. *[If respondent mentions camping]* Describe the campsite/campground. Was it drive-in or hike in? What types of facilities were available?
vii. How did you get there? (e.g. car, ferry, train) What were your modes of transportation within the park?
viii. What did you did you eat while at the park?

Park Visited: _____ **Number of visits**: _____

ii. _____

iii._____

iv._____

v._____

vi._____

vii._____

viii._____

Park Visited: _____ **Number of visits**: _____

ii. _____

iii._____

iv._____

v._____

vi._____

vii._____

viii._____

Insert extra sheets as required.

If respondent lists activities in Q5b that were particularly wilderness-oriented, such as backcountry camping, mountaineering, multi-day kayaking expeditions, etc., proceed to Q5c. Otherwise, skip to Q5d.

c) When were you first introduced to [name of particularly wilderness-oriented activity(ies) that respondent listed in Q5b]?

_____

_____

_____

_____

d) *i.* What are some of the other recreational activities that also go on in the park(s) that you are aware of? *[List all.]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

If participant provides response to (i):

ii. Would you ever consider participating in these activities?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

_____

_____

_____

_____

Probes:

- *[If yes]:* Can you suggest any reasons why you have not yet participated in these activities at these parks?
- *[If no]:* Can you suggest any reasons why you would never consider participating in these activities? Do any of your friends participate in these activities? Did you grow up participating in these activities (i.e. with parents, friends, or groups such as Boy Scouts)?

[If no response to (i), proceed.]

The next question has to do with where you get your information about wilderness-oriented parks. I will read off a short list of ways you may have received information and you can answer "yes" or "no" to each one.

[Read Q6.]

Q6. **a)** Did you get your information about these parks from… *[read items off list and circle "yes" or "no"]*

b) Are these sources in the English or Chinese language?

c) Are there other sources where you got your information from that I have not mentioned? In which language?

Source	**No$_{(0)}$**	**Yes English$_{(1)}$**	**Yes Chinese$_{(2)}$**
Brochure	❒	❒	❒
Internet website	❒	❒	❒
Newspaper	❒	❒	❒
Park information board or booth	❒	❒	❒
Tour book or magazine	❒	❒	❒
Word of mouth (specify who) _____ _____	❒	❒ ❒	❒ ❒
		❒	❒
		❒	❒

d) Do you feel that there is enough information available on wilderness-oriented parks?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

e) What do you think are good ways of providing information to the public about wilderness-oriented parks? *[List all.]* In which language?

_____

_____

_____

The next set of questions has to do with your preferences for different types of accommodation, facilities, and services in parks. For some of the questions, your answers will be based on photographs that I will show you.

[Read Q7.]

Q7. The first set of photographs are examples of different types of accommodation that may be available at parks. *[Hand respondent Item 1, set of six photographs of different types of accommodation, ranging from primitive to developed.]*

Photo	A (1)	B (2)	C (3)	D (4)	E (5)	F (6)

a) *i.* Let's say you were going to spend three to five days visiting a park. Based on the type of accommodation available in each photo, which photo would you choose as the park you would most likely visit? Could you describe what reasons or factors led you to choose this photo?

Photo [ ]_____

_____

_____

_____

ii. Which photo would you choose as the park you would least likely visit? Could you describe what reasons or factors led you to choose this photo?

Photo [ ]_____

_____

_____

_____

The next set of photographs are examples of different types of trails that can be found in parks, ranging from paved trail to no trail. [Show respondent Item 2, photographs of different types of trails, with progression from high standard to low standard.]

b) *i.* Based on the type of trail, as described in the caption under the photo, at which point would you no longer feel comfortable walking or hiking along?

V W X Y Z

ii. Can you provide any reasons why you would not feel comfortable walking or hiking these other trails *[Indicate photos that are beyond the respondent's cut-off point].*

_____

_____

_____

_____

[Hand Key 2 to respondent.] The next question has to do with park facilities and services. I will read off a list of different types of facilities and services that can be found at wilderness-oriented parks, and you can indicate to what degree you need these facilities and services to be available. To help you answer the question, you can use this key. For some of the items, I may ask you to describe what factors or reasons account for your degree of need.

[Proceed with items on list. Probe as to why the respondents feel the way they do for items that they appear to have experience with.]

c) *i.* When going to a park that you would typically go to, to what degree do you need…? *[Read items off list and circle the number the respondent provides]*

ii. Could you describe the reasons or factors that led you to choose "_____"? *[List all reasons.]*

iii. Are there any other facilities or services that you need that I have not mentioned? To what degree do you need this facility or service?

Require that this facility/ service **NOT** be available	**Prefer** that this facility/ service **NOT** be available	Indifferent/ depends	**Prefer** that this facility/ service be available	**Require** that this facility/ service be available
-2	-1	0	1	2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Facility or Service	Scale	Reasoning
Toilets	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Flush	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Pit	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Drinking water	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Tap	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Hand pump	-2 -1 0 1 2	

Food services	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Full-service restaurant	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Fast food	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Concession stand	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Picnic tables	-2 -1 0 1 2	
BBQ/fire pits	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Electrical hookups	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Sani-station/sani-dump	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Boat launch	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Non-motorized	-2 -1 0 1 2	
❒ Motorized	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Information booth/visitor center	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Information/map board (no staff)	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Nature programs	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Playground	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Showers	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Lifeguards	-2 -1 0 1 2	
Park warden	-2 -1 0 1 2	

Q8. *[Hand respondent Item 1 and say:]*

This series of questions has to do with how you feel about Chinese and Canadian cultures. There are numbers following each statement, which can be used to indicate your level of agreement or disagreement. There is a key above the questions to help guide your answers. Follow along as I read each of the statements to you, then tell me which of the numbers best reflects your level of agreement or disagreement.

[Proceed with statements on Item 3]

The final set of questions are demographic questions. [Read Q9.]

Q9. a) Were you born in Canada?

No (0) Yes (1) *[Circle one]*

If yes: Go to Q9b.

If no: *i.* In which country(ies) or region(s) were you born and raised?

_____

_____

ii. At what age did you arrive in Canada? _____

b) Which of the following best describes your household? (Present list of choices to respondent.)

- ❒ Single adult with one or more children under 18 (1)
- ❒ Couple with one or more children under 18 (2)
- ❒ Live alone (3)
- ❒ Live with one or more adults (4)
- ❒ Other (5) _____

c) What is your year of birth? _____

d) What is the highest level of formal schooling you have attained? (Present list of choices to respondent.)

- ❒ No schooling (1)
- ❒ Some elementary school (2)
- ❒ Completed elementary school (3)
- ❒ Some high school (4)
- ❒ High school graduate (5)
- ❒ Some college/university (6)
- ❒ College/university graduate (7)
- ❒ Graduate or post-graduate degree (8)

e) Which of the following categories best describes your total personal income before taxes in the previous year (2001)? (Present list of choices to respondent.)

- ❒ Under $15,000 (1)
- ❒ $15,000 to $29,999 (2)
- ❒ $30,000 to $44,999 (3)
- ❒ $45,000 to $59,999 (4)
- ❒ $60,000 to $74,999 (5)
- ❒ $75,000 to $89,999 (6)
- ❒ $90,000 and over (7)

Key 1

0 times	1-5 times	6-10 times	10-20 times	Over 20 times

Key 2

Require that this facility/ service **NOT** be available	**Prefer** that this facility/ service **NOT** be available	Indifferent/ depends	**Prefer** that this facility/ service be available	**Require** that this facility/ service be available
-2	-1	0	1	2

Item 1: Park Accommodation

A: Resort

B: Motel

C: Cabin with kitchenette & plumbing

D: Tent in campground with full facilities

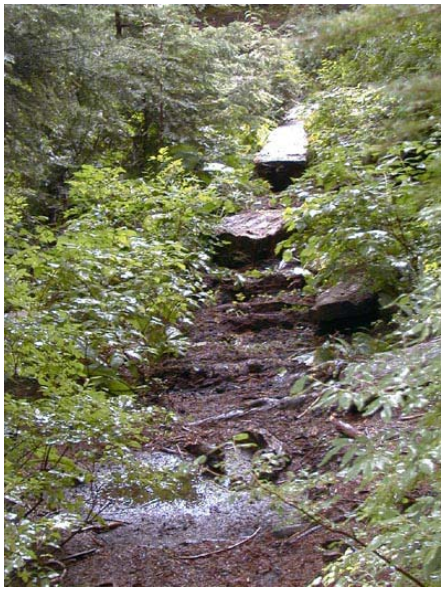
E: Tent in campground with partial facilities

F: Tent in backcountry (no facilities)

Item 2: Trail Photos

V: Paved trail

W: Gravel trail



X: Irregular surface trail

Y: Irregular surface trail with bog crossings

Z: No trail

Interview #: _____ **Date**: ____/____/02

Item 3: Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA)

Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling *one* of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement.

Use the following key to help guide your answers:

Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral/ Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1.	I often participate in Chinese traditions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2.	I often participate in mainstream North American cultural traditions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3.	I would be willing to marry a Chinese person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4.	I would be willing to marry a North American person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5.	I enjoy social activities with Chinese people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6.	I enjoy social activities with typical North American people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7.	I am comfortable working with Chinese people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8.	I am comfortable working with typical North American people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9.	I enjoy Chinese entertainment (e.g. movies, music)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10.	I enjoy North American entertainment (e.g. music, movies)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11.	I often behave in ways that are ‘typically Chinese’	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12.	I often behave in ways that are ‘typically North American’	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13.	It is important for me to maintain or develop Chinese cultural practices	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14.	It is important for me to maintain or develop North American cultural practices	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15.	I believe in Chinese values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
16.	I believe in mainstream North American values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
17.	I enjoy the typical Chinese jokes and humor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
18.	I enjoy typical North American jokes and humor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19.	I am interested in having Chinese friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20.	I am interested in having North American friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX C

Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)

The Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) is a 21-question, multiple-choice questionnaire that covers six topic areas: cultural preferences, ethnic identity, friendship choice, language, history, and attitudes (Suinn, 2002). Questions have five possible responses, ranging from low acculturation with high Asian identity (1.00) to high acculturation with low Asian identity (5.00). Mid-range items reflect a degree of biculturalism. An acculturation score is calculated by summing across the answers for the 21 items and dividing the total value by 21. While the SL-ASIA is the most widely used instrument to measure acculturation in Asian populations and has strong psychometric properties, it is a lengthy instrument. It was also originally designed to measure the level of acculturation of Asian-American populations; modifying some questions to suit a Canadian population, and specifically a Chinese population, would be difficult. Furthermore, its unidimensional construct has been criticized for limiting the understanding of the dynamics and complexities of acculturation (Kwong, 1998).

Chinese Canadian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (CCSIA)

The Chinese Canadian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (CCSIA) is a 26-item self-reporting questionnaire, followed by five open-ended qualitative questions, and 15 items of demographics and other general interest questions. It is an adaptation of the SL-ASIA so as to specifically target a Chinese Canadian population. Questions cover topic areas including language, ethnic identity, friendship and social network, cultural activities, generational/geographic background, and attitudes/values. Like the SL-ASIA, the CCSIA is lengthy, requiring 20 minutes to complete. Since it is based on the SL-ASIA, the CCSIA also measures acculturation on a unidimensional scale and thus suffers the similar criticisms as the SL-ASIA. Furthermore, the researcher who designed the CCSIA notes a methodological inconsistency in the non-standardized instrument (Kwong, 1998).

APPENDIX D

STATISTICAL TABLES

Tables D1 through D4 illustrate the sample's general attitude (desirable, mixed, indifferent, or undesirable) towards various facilities and services that can be found in wilderness-oriented parks.

Each table also shows the percentage of high mainstream and low mainstream respondents who are inclined to have a particular facility or service in a park. The chi square (χ^2) significance, or probability, refers to the likelihood this distribution occurred by chance. Where $P < 0.05$, the data distribution is considered statistically significant (in **bold**). Where P is marked by a plus sign($^+$), the χ^2 test may be unreliable because one or more of the expected values is less than 5.

TABLE D1: GENERALLY DESIRABLE PARK FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Facility / Service	% all inclined	% HM inclined	% LM inclined	χ^2 sig. (P)*
Information / map board	96	96	96	0.9774$^+$
Picnic tables	82	73	80	0.2970
Staffed information booth / visitor center	80	69	92	**0.0406**
Potable water (unspecified source)	75	73	76	0.8107
Park warden	75	77	72	0.6867
BBQ / fire pits	67	46	92	**0.0004**
Flush toilets	63	54	72	0.1801
Non-motorized boat launch	53	42	64	0.1208
Lifeguards	53	62	44	0.2097
Potable tap water	51	35	68	**0.0171**
Toilets (unspecified type)	51	54	48	0.6763
Nature programs	47	35	60	0.0694
Playground	41	23	60	**0.0074**
Showers	41	42	40	0.8671

* Where P<0.05, the data distribution is significant (in **bold**).
+ Results for the χ^2 test for this facility / service may be unreliable because one or more of the expected values is less than five.

TABLE D2: PARK FACILITIES AND SERVICES THAT RESPONDENTS HAVE MIXED ATTITUDES TOWARDS

Facility / Service	% all disinclined	% all indifferent	% all inclined	% HM inclined	% LM inclined	χ^2 sig. (P)*
Food services, general	33	39	27	15	40	**0.0489**$^+$
Concession stands	31	37	31	23	40	0.1929

* Where P<0.05, the data distribution is significant (in **bold**).
+ Results for the χ^2 test for this facility / service may be unreliable because one or more of the expected values is less than five.

TABLE D3: PARK FACILITIES AND SERVICES THAT RESPONDENTS ARE INDIFFERENT TOWARDS

Facility / Service	% all indifferent	% HM inclined	% LM inclined	χ^2 sig. (P)*
Sani-station / sani-dump	67	8	28	0.0572+
Boat launch (general)	67	12	36	**0.0395**
Potable water from hand pump	57	31	32	0.9246
Pit toilets	57	12	40	**0.0197**
Motorized boat launch	53	15	8	0.4132+
Electrical hookups	45	12	40	0.1208

* Where P<0.05, the data distribution is significant (in **bold**).
+ Results for the χ^2 test for this facility / service may be unreliable because one or more of the expected values is less than five.

TABLE D4: GENERALLY UNDESIRABLE PARK FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Facility / Service	% all disinclined	% HM inclined	% LM inclined	χ^2 sig. (P)*
Full-service restaurant	47	4	16	0.1445+
Fast food restaurant	47	4	28	**0.0178**+

* Where P<0.05, the data distribution is significant (in **bold**).
+ Results for the χ^2 test for this facility / service may be unreliable because one or more of the expected values is less than five.

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